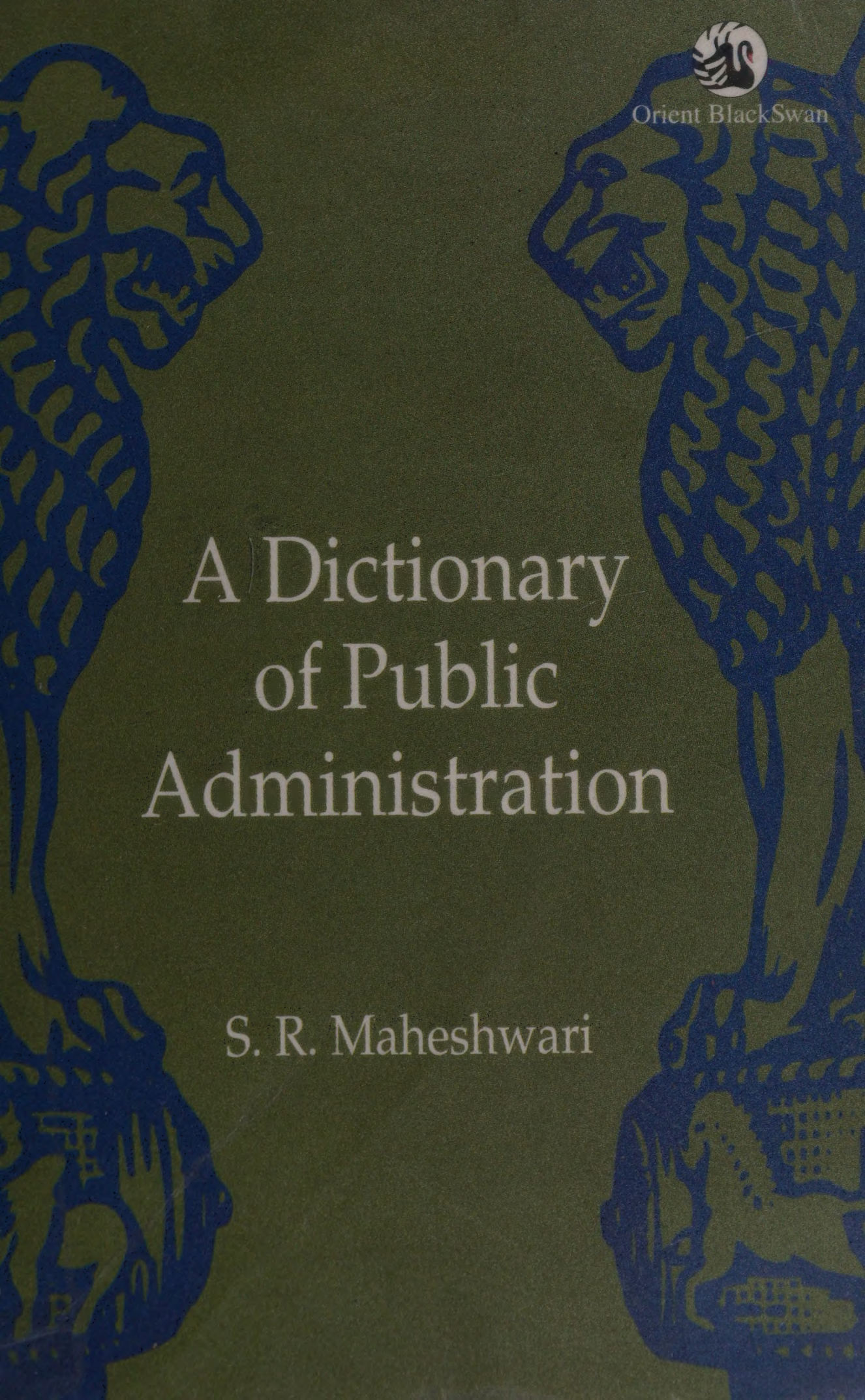

Orient BlackSwan

A Dictionary of Public Administration

S. R. Maheshwari

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Dr Maheshwari held a number of positions in the government as well as in the professional field. He was a member of theAdministrative Reforms Committee set up by the state government of Uttar Pradesh in 1973. During 1975–78, he was honorary secretary and treasurer of the Indian Public Administration Association of which he became the president in 1989–90.

He was a visiting Research Fellow to universities and renowned institutes in Australia, Japan, Canada and France.

A Dictionary of Public Administration

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Orient BlackSwan

To the sacred memory of my parents

Muniraj Mundra
(9 November 1897–22 November 1971)
कार्तिक पूर्णिमा सं. 1954--मार्ग शीर्षपंचमी सं. 2028

&

Kalavati Devi Mundra
(20 September 1900–5 September 1968)
आश्विन कृष्ण 7 सं. 1956--भाद्रशुक्ल चतुर्दशी सं. 2025

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Preface

Some dreams haunt one through life. Attempting a dictionary has been a preoccupation with me since my student days. The longing grew and became compelling as the years rolled by, but it soon became a dream, as I chose to conveniently push it to the back of my mind. My retirement from active service initiated me into a second career. In the course of a self-audit I discovered my unfinished agenda and the dream of a dictionary again beckoned.

Fortunately, around this time I was awarded the National Fellowship by the Indian Council of Social Science Research and D.M. Nanjundappa, the chairman of the ICSSR, telephoned me hoping that I would accept it. I thanked him warmly for conferring this honour on me. It was then that I decided to re-activate my old dream of writing a dictionary of public administration.

I thought that a thirty-five year teaching and research career would have prepared me for such a task. It was not an impossible feat in view of the fact that by this time I was the author of over fifty books and over 300 articles published in national and overseas journals. Yet I knew, attempting a dictionary single-handedly was a daunting task.

As a National Fellow I was affiliated to the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, which provided me the facilities essential for my academic pursuit: its library is an excellent place to work in with a reader-friendly environment. For the accomplishment of work of this nature, I am also thankful for the facilities offered by the library of the Indian Institute of Public Administration.

The final product—*A Dictionary of Public Administration*—is now placed in the hands of the readers. I have benefited from the works of scholars too numerous to be individually identified here: I thank them all.

My publishers, Orient Longman, showed keen interest in this work and I thank them most warmly for the professional commitment with which they have handled it.

I also very warmly thank Bimla for her constant encouragement and support rendered towards the completion of the present work.

2 October 2001 SRM

A

ABC Analysis

A technique in materials management and control in which various items are classified in 3 categories in terms of their values. The highest value items, called 'A' category, are checked most frequently; average value items, 'B' category, are checked less frequently; and the items which are the least checked are the low-value ones and are in the 'C' category. ABC Analysis is thus a powerful method of inventory control.

Abkarri

This term was used during the Mughal rule and later also. It means the taxes or duties levied on the manufacture and sale of spirits, liquor and intoxicating drugs.

Accountability

Accountability is defined as the state of being accountable, liable or answerable. To be accountable means to be obliged to report, explain or justify something. Accountability is responsibility to some outside or higher level of authority by a person or group of persons in an organisation. It ensures that something is carried out as expected. Accountability means to be answerable to one's senior when one renders a report of the decisions and the quantity and quality of action in the course of carrying out responsibilities. Accountability is reinforced by punitive action.

Accountability is post factum in nature. Accountability also means that one can face censure or dismissal. L.D. White defines accountability as the 'sum total of the constitutional, statutory, administrative and judicial rules and precedents and the established practices by means of which public officials may be held accountable for their official action'. (*Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, p. 495). It is difficult to enforce this in the modern age effectively, and this is principally for two reasons. Policies are becoming increasingly complex and technical, beyond the comprehension of most men. Also, many policies may have been begun by one government but their results are seen later, quite often when a new government is in power. Thus, the party in power may suffer from the

shortcomings and wrong decisions of its predecessors. When a government is voted out of power by the members of the legislature, it is said that the government is accountable.

Accountability in Administration

The word 'accountable' was first used in English in 1583, in a financial context. Even today, financial accountability is so important a part of accountability, that many public servants either forget or conveniently ignore other equally vital components of accountability. The concept is a comprehensive one and covers all the activities undertaken by the government. *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'accountable' as 'liable to be called to account, responsible (to, for)'. Webster's *New International Dictionary of the English Language* gives a similar definition, explaining it as 'liable to be called on to render an account'. This definition is significant, in the sense that it distinguishes 'accountable' from 'control'. Strictly speaking, 'control' is contemporaneous with an action or event whereas accountability is post factum in nature: it is only after an act has been completed that one is called upon to render an account of it. Of course, an awareness of being called to account is likely to affect behaviour and attitude and may thus have an anticipatory effect, but terminological purity demands its definition to recognise its post factum nature. Over the years, the word accountable has come to be used more loosely and it subsumes all that which is covered by 'control'.

Administrative accountability is an organisational imperative because first and foremost, it purports to evaluate performance in terms of goals. The goal is split up into definite tasks and responsibilities, and it is the individual administrators who are called upon to render an account of how they are discharging their responsibilities. Accountability is a concomitant of administrative responsibility, and thus is intrinsic to an organisation: concepts like hierarchy, span of control, unity of command, supervision, etc., are all mechanisms—promoting and enforcing accountability. So is the annual budget. But all these devices have to be properly sensitised, because accountability is meaningful only when it closely and firmly relates to the basic tasks and objectives of an organisation. Administrative accountability is achievement-oriented: But it imposes other conditions also. Since both the human and financial resources available to an organisation are limited, administrative accountability seeks to

ensure the optimum use of the available resources and at the same time to realise the organisational objectives. In addition to these core functions, accountability also serves some other purposes. Since the functionaries in a public organisation do not have to raise their own resources, which instead come from the fund-providing agency in a more or less assured form, they may show a tendency to use these resources wrongly. This must be strictly guarded against, because misuse of public resources is notoriously widespread in many developing countries and even top-level personnel evince a low commitment to effective utilisation of resources. Above all, the constitutional and political system of the country also places each public functionary within a framework of control and accountability, and to this end, a number of tools and mechanisms have been designed and put into operation. A correct perspective of accountability may be gained with a much sharper focus when a public functionary so attunes himself as to look at his official work strictly from the viewpoint of an ordinary citizen or, the 'daridranarayan', i.e., the poorest of the poor, to quote Mahatma Gandhi. This calls for the maintenance and orchestration of a system of accountability of the executive. The executive's responsibility to the legislature, legislative surveillance, judicial review, audit control, financial advisory system in ministries, etc., are among the elements of a system of accountability so organised. These, in practice, are reinforced and supplemented by the mass media, political parties, interest groups, political and electoral process, watchdog organisations, etc.

Accountability has two facets, somewhat separate but interrelated. The *first* is basically political, and in a parliamentary system of government like ours the executive is kept under an obligation to give an account of its performance to parliament, and the latter has many devices and instrumentalities to this end. The *second* facet is primarily administrative and the executive in its turn holds the administrators in departments and other public agencies accountable for whom they carry out their responsibilities. These two are complementary and they together constitute the foundation of a responsible government. The present piece concentrates on the latter facet of accountability.

All civil servants working in a ministry are accountable to the minister. As the minister is responsible to the legislature for actions (including inactions) of the

civil servants, the latter must obviously be held accountable to him. This boils down to the following:

1. The civil servants must know well their minister's mind and seek faithfully to project it in what they do.
2. They must observe, in all their official transactions with citizens, due process of law of natural justice.
3. They must remain alive to the sensitivities of the legislature and must abjure from doing things which might embarrass the minister, particularly in his relationship with the legislature.
4. They must be responsive to the larger public opinion.

Accountability is made more explicit and is ensured by a complex of organisational and procedural devices. Hierarchy is itself an exercise in accountability fixation.[1] Without adequate control and supervision over the actions of the lower levels, accountability can hardly be enforced. Span of control, unity of command, inspection, supervision, etc., are other well-known accountability-facilitating devices. To ensure financial accountability, a financial advisory system is now a part of each minister's office. Lateral agencies like the Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Finance, etc., are other accountability mechanisms. Audit, too, is a powerful tool of accountability, so powerful that the comptroller and auditor-general is one of the topmost constitutional functionaries of India and is independent of the executive.

Although the minister has complete autonomy within his sphere of authority, he must soon learn, in order to survive, where to stop. He must, in other words, concentrate on major matters of policy and leave tasks of day-to-day administration to the career civil servants. No hard and fast rules can be laid down about matters which need compulsorily to be referred to the minister for his decisions. The secretary, the administrative head of the ministry, should know well his minister's mind and devise the reference schedule accordingly. Every minister has his own style of working. But it may, perhaps, be safely observed that he should generally shape and formulate policy, leaving day-to-day administration to the civil servants under him. He should ensure accountability, among others, by selecting and scrutinising cases on a random basis and by invoking the managerial principle of rule by exception.

The mechanisms designed to enforce accountability are the products of an era when public administration was small in size and, what is more, engaged in

simple tasks. Today, public administration has grown too big and complex and is subject to multiple pressures of varying intensities with the consequence that the conventional tools of accountability enforcement are proving to be distressingly weak and ineffective. Parliament, as presently constituted, is no match for the executive. The classical mechanisms to keep the executive under control are found to be insufficient and inadequate. The fact is that the power of the present-day executive has enormously expanded. This calls for an alert judiciary, vigilant parliament, fearless, watchful press, and powerful watchdog organisations. It is vital that these non-executive institutions move forward to restructure themselves, redesign their business practices and reinforce themselves. Moreover, when a bureaucracy is unavoidable and inescapable, efforts must simultaneously be made to humanise and professionalise it.[2] Besides, the Parliament must insist on getting sufficient information about the functions and activities of each department. At present, it gets but an annual report of each ministry which is not enough to make accountability feasible. The flow of information to the Parliament is poor and not in time, and thus one may not be able to form a sufficiently reasonable judgment on the functioning of the executive. Besides, the Parliament does not appear to have a consistent understanding of its own role. It currently spends a lot of its time in discussing trivial matters. When highly technical matters with far-reaching implications are brought before it, only a handful of MPs are present in the legislature and the discussion is perfunctory.

The plain fact is that today, the executive has grown too big to be amenable to a meaningful and sustained system of accountability: it needs to be controlled in respect of its size and staffing.[3] What is to be emphasised is that good governance demands the strengthening and activating, qualitatively, at least, of the non-executive branches of the government—the judiciary, the legislature and other state institutions. At present, the executive branch is top heavy and is easily the largest branch of the government. At the same time, new paths in search for better accountability of public administration should be explored. This requires, among others, an innovative culture and certain commitment to out-of-the-way approaches and strategies.

First and foremost, accountability must be imparted a more positive content. The common administrative practices, such as lackadaisical performance, playing safe, not providing leadership and

drive to the organisation and other such practices must be firmly discouraged. At present, accountability has been greatly devalued and has not been finely tuned. As a result, the public functionaries are not taking decisions or are given to procrastination and delay and their actions pass undetected and unpunished. In short, accountability must become sensitive to reward and punishment, and must not remain one sided.

To implement the foregoing proposition, it is vital to formulate and activate an integrated view of accountability. Parliament must remain fully aware of its role and responsibilities, and oblige the political executive to render an account of its stewardship of the nation's public affairs. The council of ministers must set a programmatic vision before itself and set out to implement it by making appropriate policies, ably supported by programmes and schemes and the necessary infrastructure. The individual ministers must, on their part, provide the necessary policy inputs in their respective areas of operation, ginger up the machinery of administration, and instil a sense of efficiency, purpose and economy in the departments and agencies under them. The minister must periodically review the policies and programmes and take corrective action to ensure timely meeting of targets. He must lead the bureaucracy, for the latter, when left to itself, remains self-programmed and suffers from a chronic incapacity to get out of the rut. The senior-level bureaucracy must translate the policies into actionable programmes and schemes and must practise the concept of accountable management. The various levels in the hierarchy must be endowed with adequate powers and responsibilities. This needs to be underlined, for in many developing countries, it is characteristic of the lower-level personnel to have responsibility with power concentrated in the hands of top echelons. The classical tools of effective internal management, such as inspection, visit, control and supervision, which have either fallen into disuse or are perfunctorily undertaken, must be activated, and the tone and standard in this respect, as in many others, must be set by the top civil servants themselves.

Certain prerequisites must be met to make accountability a genuine, on-going practice. Decentralisation, delegation, devolution and deconcentration are vital to accountability. As already emphasised, accountability is performance-based and result-oriented, but in a responsible system of government, public functionaries are not permitted to

make short shrift of the prescribed procedures. This necessitates simplification of rules and procedures so that administrators do not have to waste time attending to unnecessary procedure. No less urgent is the need for appropriate changes in personnel administration, especially training, placement, performance appraisal, promotion, etc. Administrative reform, including reform of the country's civil service, is among the prerequisites to a system of effective accountability. Public administration is apt to become more accountable if it shows a greater inclination to welcome more of management in it. An arrangement of reporting to provide information on the progress made towards the fulfilment of organisational objectives must be put into operation, and follow-up action must be quick. No less necessary for the promotion of a sense of accountability is increasing transparency in administration. This requires an appreciation of the fact that the present secrecy legislation tends only to keep the official sheltered and unaccountable, but not the official information.

It is most important to take cognisance of a serious menace to accountability. Both the functionary called to account for his performance and the one who takes the account are but human; it is, therefore, vital that they be motivated by purely organisational objectives in their interactions. This is critically important, for accountability runs a grave risk of becoming personalised. Nor should the network of accountability get weakened, an aspect needing special care and attention. In developing countries, the formal hierarchies in many organisations, especially those involving public dealings or other kinds of patronage, have been virtually converted into integrated circuits of corruption, thereby making a joke of accountability. This must be avoided at all costs.

Paradoxical though it may seem, historically governments have kept man under a firm obligation to owe accountability to itself with no reciprocal self-discipline. Such a unilateral spirit abounds in public administration. The administrative system, to give an example, binds the citizens to a series of deadlines but itself enjoys complete immunity despite the promulgation of devices like the citizens' charter. The existing rules prescribe that citizens must submit to the income-tax bureaucracy their income-tax return regularly by a particular date, but the bureaucracy takes its own time to dispose of the cases, thus keeping the taxpayers under an obligation from which it keeps

itself fully released. It is high time that the executive reciprocated within a certain time frame in its own turn. Thus, if a certain matter relating to an individual citizen does not get decided within a reasonably fixed period, the decision should be deemed to go in favour of the affected citizen, an arrangement which would induce the administration to be more accountable. Equally urgent are reforms in the civil system of the land. To make accountability practicable, the posting and transfer policy must be rationalised. An officer must be given at least a three-year term in a post instead of the present practice of frequent transfers.

It is equally important to abandon the present system under which the laws (including rules, regulations, etc.) are enacted apparently for eternity with no fixed expiry date mentioned. It is largely under legislation that public administration formulates its functions and even when the need for such laws is no longer felt, functions continue to be carried out. The legislature must accord its acceptance to the concept of sunset legislation. To extend the logic further, the executive must soon adopt the concept of zero-base budgeting, which is bound to introduce sanity and rationality in the whole range of administrative activities. The single greatest advantage of this concept is that every public organisation is regularly subjected to a severe review, the initial assumption being that it should be wound up unless convincing reasons can be provided why it should continue. Last but not least in importance is the need for a social audit of public organisations, particularly public undertakings. Social audit is a new concept in public administration but sooner or later a social balance sheet is likely to become a mandatory part of one's normal commercial balance sheet which many public organisations are under a legal obligation to produce.[4] Finally, the law of torts is not very well developed in India, which, too, induces indifference in the public functionaries towards their duties. At present, there are definite statutory provisions which shield public functionaries from legal action even when they are remiss in their performance which wrongs or causes inconvenience to the citizens. The Criminal Procedure Code, 1973, for instance, makes it necessary to get a sanction from the concerned government, central or state, before a public servant in its employ is prosecuted in respect of any offence alleged to have been committed by him while acting or purporting to act in the discharge of his official duty.[5] India has not yet signed the clause relating to

payment of compensation by the state to an aggrieved citizen in the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights, but some recent judicial decisions appear to subject the public functionaries to a measure of discipline and thus make them accountable for their actions or inactions to the citizens directly affected. This is a most welcome sign. Early in 1983, the Supreme Court of India set a precedent by ordering the Bihar government to pay Rs 30,000 as compensation to an individual, who remained confined in jail for as many as fourteen years after his acquittal by the court simply because the government did not send the necessary release order.[6] Since the state's actions or inactions, impinge so widely and deeply on individual citizen's lives and happiness, the public servants must be made accountable for damages. Justice should be made cheap, quick and less bothersome.[7]

It is necessary in the end to warn that the concepts discussed in the foregoing will bear fruit only when applied with commitment and conviction. A ritualistic application may leave us exactly where we are, and thus make little difference in respect of accountability. The concept of programme budgeting, one needs to be reminded, was introduced in the Indian administration in the 1970s, but the approach was rather mechanical resulting in a low level of gains. This must not be repeated. Besides, periodic reviews and evaluations must be regarded as but an integral part of the proposed framework and the results of such exercises must be fed back into the system, the overall goal being the raising of productivity through better accountability.

The various tools and mechanisms of accountability discussed above must never lose a sense of proportion when put in action. Administration, primarily, is action—doing something; and nothing ought to be done to sap the initiative and drive of those carrying programmatic responsibilities. It would be fatal for administration if the public functionaries merely move in circles and betray inaction simply because accountability has benumbed them.

[1]Appleby, Paul H., *Policy and Administration*, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 1949, p. 72.

[2]Maheshwari, S.R., 'Political Control over Executive Departments in India', *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*, vol. XXIV, no. 2, April 1980, p. 161.

[3]The political climate in many developing countries is, however, liable to make such a view extremely unpopular, for public administration there is being increasingly viewed as some kind of a social security agency to provide

employment to the jobless. This is notwithstanding the inconvenient fact that most public organisations are already oversized and overstaffed.

[4]See, for instance, the following works: Anshen, Melvin. *Managing the Socially Responsible Corporation*, New York, Macmillan, 1974, and *The Social Audit for Management*, New York, American Management Association, 1977.

[5]Section 197, Criminal Procedure Code, 1974.

[6]The judgment was delivered by the division bench of the Supreme Court comprising the Chief Justice Y.V. Chandrachud, Justice A.N. Sen and Justice Ranganath Mishra, *The Times of India*, 2 August, 1983.

[7]How justice can be expedited can be illustrated by the American practice. In the U.S.A., a civil suit may not take more than six months for its disposal. The Speedy Trial Act requires a criminal case to be tried within a period of hundred days. Also, there is a law which says that the charge must be brought before the court within thirty days failing which the case is dismissed.

Acculturation

An Americanism, this term refers to the process whereby an individual or group acquires the cultural traits of another by coming in direct contact. Acculturation is the process of assimilating parts of the local culture to enable an outsider to become comfortable in another culture. Acculturation is a one-way process; one group imbibes the characteristics of another group. Assimilation is a two-way process.

Acquisitive Society

An acquisitive society is that society which encourages the members to acquire things. If such an instinct does not exist, the economy is apt to stagnate as people lack a will to buy and possess.

Adalat

This is a court of justice, civil or criminal.

Adhocracy

The term was coined by Warren Bennis but later popularised by Alvin Toffler, the author of *Future Shock*. Adhocracy is the opposite of bureaucracy. It refers to small project teams which are task-oriented and which work across the departmental boundaries of an organisation. These are flexible organisations. Toffler believes in the usefulness of temporary ad hoc groups for solving particular problems. He recommended the use of a temporary organisation like a task force to deal with a particular project or problem.

Adivasis

The term 'adivasi' refers to some tribes and forest people in India in preference to the

pejorative term 'aborigines' originally given by the British colonial rulers; Mahatma Gandhi called them 'girijans'. The Constitution of India uses a neutral term 'scheduled tribes', which is just a schedule, listing 258 tribes whose languages and dialects are about 106 in number.

Administered Price

Administered price refers to a price which is not determined by an interplay of market forces such as supply and demand. It is a price which is determined by taking into account non-economic factors. Subsidies are an example of administered prices. Although India is explicitly committed to a policy of economic liberalisation since 1990, it has not been able to do away with administered pricing as in the case of fertilisers. Subsidies today cost the budget half per cent of the GDP annually. The term was used by Lord Keynes and refers to the prices charged on considerations other than market forces.

Administration

The Pokhran nuclear test, which India successfully carried out in 1998, is rightly regarded as a scientific and technological achievement of the highest order. It is also a first-rate feat of administration. Thousands of scientists in different fields were working on the project for a long time, each confining himself to his own allotted field as part of the larger team. The whole operation was planned to the minutest detail and the work was divided among scientists, most of whom did not personally know each other. Each had to complete his assignment within an allotted time and all these had to be coordinated so as to respond to a countdown. Moreover, all these operations had to be conducted under utmost secrecy.

All this is administration. Administration is defined as 'the management of public affairs; the conducting or carrying on of the details of government', 'the function of a political state in exercising its governmental duties'. Administration, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is 'performance, execution, management of public affairs'. The dictionary meaning is rather loose. Administration is getting things done by others. This definition might imply that those engaged in administration are doing nothing. This is far from the truth. Though administration means getting work done by others, the administrator himself is engaged in arduous tasks such as planning, organising, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting and budgeting. Those who carry out the subject-matter tasks are technical

personnel, and they are not to be confused with administrators. Administrators specialise in administration and are drawn from the ranks of specialists, as in France, or from a general educational background as in India and the United Kingdom. Administration comprises processes such as planning, organising, controlling, commanding and coordinating (Henri Fayol) or planning, organising, staffing, directing, coordinating, reporting, budgeting (POSDCORB of Luther Gulick). This does not mean that an administrator need not possess subject-matter knowledge. The challenge in the third millennium is that an administrator must specialise and a specialist must generalise! Two broad views characterise the definition of public administration. According to some, public administration is restricted to the executive branch of the government only, while others define it broadly to cover the executive component of work carried out by the judicial and the legislative branches as well. The majority view makes public administration coterminus with the executive branch of the government.

Administrative Culture

Administrative culture is one of the latest concepts to enter the vocabulary in public administration and as such it is rather inchoate and nebulous. A scholar's first task, therefore, is to give it a form and attempt a definition even if it is tentative and experimental. Administrative culture may be defined as the accumulated depository of the symbols, beliefs, values, attitudes, norms, etc., that govern and shape the administrative system in a society. Administrative culture includes symbols such as mottos and national anthems; material culture such as flags and banners, naming of monuments, buildings and roads, and beliefs about public administration. It comprises beliefs, symbols and values concerning administrative action and behaviour.

A discussion of administrative culture must include a reference, even if brief, to organisational culture. Though closely interrelated, the two perhaps do not cover identical fields. Organisational culture is a micro-level phenomenon resting on an organisation or a set of functionally related organisations. An organisation's members share some beliefs, attitudes and values which make up the organisational culture. These are not necessarily sanctified by statutes or formally promulgated rules and regulations and constitute the repertoire of informal organisations. Certain ceremonial rituals on special occasions are

performed; many public organisations, for instance, observe the ceremony of 'breaking of coconut' to celebrate special events. Many field-level organisations in the railways—one of the oldest public organisations in the country—observe the religious rites of animal sacrifice when a new project is inaugurated. This, surely, does not have a legal base nor is it backed by formal rules and regulations.

The seeds of the term 'administrative culture' were sown in the year 1963 when Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba published their path-breaking work The *Civic Culture* (Princeton University Press). When the term gained currency in political science its entry into public administration was not far behind. Yet, it may not be said that 'administrative culture' has even now emerged as a crystallised concept.

Yet, the academic pay-offs from explorations in administrative culture are apt to be enormous and invaluable. The object or target of administrative culture is 'public bureaucracy' which, unlike politics (which is a catch-all concept), is a vastly more cohesive, well organised, compact group with a network of continuing interaction. Its members are centrally recruited and trained according to standard practices. The social class from which the bureaucracy largely springs is still narrow and small although efforts to make it representative both spatially and socially are underway. Bureaucracy is a distinct power-elite in the society and as such it fosters among its members broadly common attitudes and behavioural patterns vis-a-vis the larger society.

India is a large-sized country characterised by a high level of diversity and pluralism. Moreover, the society in India is an ancient one and thus stands in sharp contrast to, say, the American society with its limited span of history and therefore memory. In this setting, administrative culture of India should not be projected as being unitary or monistic despite the existence of a strong unitary government since 1773 till 1935 (if not till 1947) and the long-continuing single party dominant system under the present constitution. The colonial rulers had created all-India services, the members of which, as a rule, occupied leadership positions in public administration at both the levels of government. Even under the present federal constitution, the public administration of India, continues to be an integrated one. Yet, it cannot be said that its administrative culture falls within one rigid framework only. Various levels of consciousness prevailing in the country, inevitably produce multiple editions of

administrative culture. India's administrative culture is federal, and what is more, is actively federalising in the contemporary setting. The administrative culture regarding work in western India, for instance, is different from that of eastern India. Plurality characterises other spheres of administrative action and behaviour also.

The district was the pivot of public administration during the entire period of British rule—a fact, which gave birth to a significant volume of poetic literature in Indian administration. The district administration received top priority from the rulers, and no effort was spared to keep it efficient, strong and prompt in action. A corollary of this was to encourage and foster the corresponding administrative culture also. Since independence, the district unfortunately, has been downgraded with the emergence of new priorities and concerns. As a result, the district as the unit of administration suffered from neglect and lack of attention. The empowerment of local government, both rural and urban, in 1993, made the district again become the theatre of important public activities improving the well-being of the people. However, the machinery of administration which operates to carry out local governmental tasks is singularly inept with a totally unsupportive administrative culture.

The administrative culture underpinning district administration needs modification, even reprogramming to make it fall in line with the new field-level administrative realities. The local governmental personnel at present lack the habit of efficient functioning, causing delay, citizen frustration, cost overrun, etc. What is being said is that the contents of local-level administrative culture should be realistically distributed among the public functionaries. What the India of tomorrow needs is again, a vibrant district administration supportive of the newly articulated goals. This requires for its success a rejuvenating administration culture.

Authority is venerated—always and everywhere—but rarely more than in India. Because it is not universally dispersed over the social space it is very much prized. Those ensconced in higher governmental jobs are viewed as elite (or, super elite?) and seen as a reference group in the community. In India, the government is always viewed as the purveyor of exclusive status and influence. A job in the government, especially of a supervisory and decision-making nature, is highly envied by the entire society. In the beginning, the social base of this elite was small but the effect of

the policy of job reservation in government at all levels, has begun to be felt and the social base is expanding. The state recognition is highly rated in India. Citizens prominently display even the certificates they receive from the government for the supposedly good work done by them.

Administrative culture must be compatible with its environment. It is, therefore, unrealistic to endorse and perpetuate the administrative culture operative during the period of the Raj. Even one in harmony with the milieu of the early days of the Republic will not be valid today. In the early years of the Republic, the career bureaucracy was engaged in building the edifice of a modern industrial state. Today, India has built up a wide range of administrative, management and social skills outside the career civil service. A trend at present, noticeable everywhere, is one where the state stands back; the state's new concern henceforth is to reduce its direct involvement in productive processes. The country's bureaucracy is thus increasingly called upon to shift its role from 'rowing' to 'steering'. Consequent on the empowerment of the panchayati raj institutions after the seventy-third and seventy-fourth constitutional amendments, the bureaucratic role will have to suffer further changes. In short, these structural shifts and changes make it imperative that the content of administrative culture be revised. This requires patient, sensitive handling.

It should be carefully noted that the administrative culture is not static, just as culture itself is not unchanging. Administrative culture must remain supportive and a facilitator of administrative action. This is important. Very often, it remains out of step with the professed administrative goals and action. This is particularly true of countries with a colonial past. It must be made a major challenge for administrative arrangements, including in-service training, to devise contents of a desirable administrative culture and transmit it to civil servants. The result, otherwise, would be a deadening 'formalism' in public administration in the absence of reinforcing administrative values.

This does not imply that the entire administrative culture of the past has become irrelevant. The colonial culture comprised, among others, integrity, fair play, objectivity, devotion, impartiality and a high sense of duty in the civil service. These attributes are perennial virtues and no regime, whatever its political complexion, can afford to dispense with them. Similarly, the Raj gave freedom to its civil servants to tender their advice and

express their views freely and frankly before their superiors. This culture is ever relevant. It would be rewarding for the country if its administrative culture allows itself to preserve continuity with the past and yet absorb changes. The best of the past must be saluted and not discarded.

The evolution of a reinforcing administrative culture faces serious odds, more so in the context of social forces released after 1947. Independence and the events that followed took away the means of livelihood and consequently, the social status of influential, locally entrenched groups of the rural areas in India. Zamindari abolition programmes initiated by independent India set the erstwhile landed gentry comprising zamindars, talukdars, jagirdars, searching for new avenues of livelihood. Hereditary offices in rural India like those of the patwaris were put to an end. Released from such occupations, these groups were now compelled to search for new equally status-conferring roles. These two roles were provided by the newly created panchayati raj institutions in the country. These groups dominated the cooperative also. This was an instance of status transference for the traditionally entrenched local rural elite. This explains why panchayati raj leadership is status-quoist. Traditionalising administrative culture prevails over the vast space of local formations and arrangements.

Thus seen, constitution-supportive values are more marked at the higher national level. Modern administrative culture with universalistic traits are seen more to inform administrative behaviour at the national level. Equally, ascriptive traits like caste largely prevail at the local level even if the demands articulated are modern in nature. At the local level, thus, there is a push towards traditionalisation of public administration while one notices a pull towards modernising of administrative culture at higher levels. In other words, Weberian administrative culture is more widely observed at the higher levels but diminishes as one descends from New Delhi to state capitals and to the districts.

Administrative culture is not always rationally structured. This needs illustration. Many organisations are seen to remain trapped in what is sometimes called the 'NIH' syndrome ('Not Invented Here' syndrome). This syndrome opposes administrators' learning from others although they operate in the same field and possess useful experiences. The resultant malaise is a sign of insecurity or inertia reflected in arrogance.

Administrative culture needs some further clarifications. Administrative culture is not a single component concept. Values that comprise it are pluralistic. It is quite plausible that some components may get a higher weightage at one point and underrated later. Nor, should one argue that there is complete internal consistency among the several components of the administrative culture: the latter is a composite bag and all its contents may not have a relationship of re-inforcement with one another.

Administrative systems differ from each other but all of them share one feature in common. Public administration of every country, today, finds itself in an age of uncertainty. Thus seen, administrative reform is every country's necessity. But administrative reform must be accompanied by appropriate administrative culture, if it is to succeed and make an impact. In other words, a prerequisite for the revamping of public administration in a country is its positive and vigorous backing by administrative culture. In India, administrative reform has generally remained grounded precisely because no attempt was made to evolve a strengthening administrative culture.

Lastly, administrative culture of the country and its public administration must ever be in harmony with each other. Since public administration of a developing country must itself change to cope with change, it follows then that its administrative culture should also show such a change-oriented propensity. But evolving supportive administrative culture is necessarily a slow, time-consuming process. To expect administrative culture to alter itself with push-button alacrity is unrealistic.

Administrative elite

'Elites' refer to the persons of the highest class: they exercise a high measure of authority and influence in the larger group. A modern state employs a large number of persons but most of them are engaged in tasks of a routine and clerical nature. Broadly, those belonging to all-India services and group A (earlier called class I) services constitute the administrative elite of India, numbering around 90,000. A large number of them are too junior and generally occupy middle-level positions in the government. Such members who occupy positions of joint secretary and above in the Government of India and secretary and above in the states constitute the administrative elite of India.

Administrative Federalism

This is a concept which has

recently emerged in public administration and lacks universally accepted definition as yet. Ivo D. Duckback defines administrative federalism as one whose constitution permits an easy rearrangement of existing units or the carving out of new ones, especially when the consent of the units concerned is not obligatory. Douglas V. Verney, the Canadian scholar, is of the view that administrative federalism comes into operation when, in a federal system, one or more constituent units might find themselves being administered from the central government, while most of the units for most of the time enjoy the benefits of a federal system.

The term may carry yet another meaning. Administrative federalism refers to the administrative mechanism which is commonly shared between, and thus unites, separate levels of governance operating within an overriding federal system so as to permit each to use the common institution while maintaining its fundamental administrative integrity. Administrative federalism is an inter-level power distribution scheme which distributes power, but, at the same time, protects the existence and authority of all governmental identities. It permits plural centres of decision-making. Administrative federalism marks a modification of classical federalism.

Administrative Law

Administrative law is the body of law that relates to the administrative powers exercised by the executive. It is the law that relates to public administration. It determines the organisation, powers and responsibilities and procedures of work of public authorities. An equally pressing concern of administrative law is, thus, to keep it within its legal bounds and to protect the legitimate rights of the citizens. The exercise of such powers are subject to scrutiny by the law courts, the scrutiny being legal and not of principles.

The functions of the modern state are expanding in range, volume and scale everywhere. A modern state, characterised by the emergence of the administrative state, not only executes (which is its proper domain) but also legislates and adjudicates, thus moving into the areas of the legislative and the judiciary. This calls for adequate control of the executive, which has become a major preoccupation of our times. Two different approaches have emerged by way of control over the administrative power. The first approach prevails in common law systems such as in Great Britain, India etc., and it recognises no

distinction between public law and private law. The second approach obtains in European countries, such as France, where there are separate public and private laws. Public law is the domain of administrative courts which apply distinct rules and procedures. As there are no two separate administrative courts in Britain as in France, A.C. Dicey (1835–1922) concluded that administrative law did not exist in that country. Even during Dicey's days, Britain had delegated legislation.

The volume of administrative law is increasing in all countries. The brand of vast discretionary powers conferred on the executive has led to the development of administrative tribunals. The civil courts are scrutinising executive acts and declaring them illegal if they are found unreasonable or are a violation of natural justice. Today, the case for administrative law is better understood and its need is not questioned. The emphasis now is on preventing the abuse of the legislative and judicial power enjoyed by the executive.

Administrative law thus stands in sharp contrast to statutory law which is enacted by the Parliament. It is derived from rules and regulations made under specific authorisation of laws. Administrative law is made by the executive, and is best suited to attend to matters of details.

Administrative Man

The term 'administrative man' has been attributed to Herbert Simon (1916–2001) who used it to distinguish it from the 'economic man' of the economists. The 'economic man' is a rational decision-maker. He is aware of the problem, works out all the alternatives available for solving it as well as all the consequences flowing from each of the alternatives. Then he makes a rational choice. These stipulated conditions are impossible to meet and thus the 'economic man' is just a conceptual abstraction. Herbert Simon ruled out the rationalist theory of decision-making. Individuals possess limited cognitive skills. Sociologically as well as psychologi- cally, individuals are different from each other. So, each person has his own goals, priorities and motivations which may condition his decision-making perspective. The constraint of time may also rule out rational decision-making. The behaviour of an individual in an administrative situation is conditioned by organisational factors such as expected role of the position, obligations and duties, etc.

The search for alternatives also stands foreclosed by past policies and precedents. According to Simon, what man is capable of achieving is only bounded rationality, which is a situation under

which he knows some of the alternatives of which he knows only some of the consequences. A decision is necessarily taken under all such limitations. The economic man is thus merely an abstraction. A practical approach is found in the administrative man. These are discussed by Herbert Simon in his Nobel prize-winning work *Administrative Behavior* first published in 1945. Administrative man 'satisfices' (a composition of the words 'satisfy' and 'suffice') rather than maximises. Herbert Simon rightly observes: 'The central concern of administrative theory is with the boundary between the rational and the non-rational aspects of human social behaviour. Administrative theory is peculiarly the theory of intended and bounded rationality of the behaviour of human beings who satisfice because they have not the wits to maximise.'[1] Administrative man is the cousin of economic man.

[1]Herbert Simon's introduction to the third edition of Herbert Simon: *Administrative Behavior*, New York, Free Press, Third Edition, 1976, p. XXVIII.

Administrative Procedure Act, 1946

The Administrative Procedure Act, 1946, of the U.S.A.—acclaimed as one of the most dramatic legal developments of the century—lays down safeguards to protect individuals from 'arbitrary and capricious' actions of a government organisation. Before an individual is given punishment for violation of an administrative law he must be given an opportunity for a hearing. The statute lays down the procedures for the conduct of such a hearing. The proceedings are formal and similar to civil court action. The individual has the right to timely notice of the date, time and place of the hearing. He is communicated all the facts regarding the charges, legal authority of the accusing agency and reference to the statutes or rules alleged to have been violated. He has the right to a fair and impartial hearing and has the right to retain a counsel to defend him. One must note that the hearing officer is not an agent of the administrative agency: he is called 'administrative law judge' and his decision is a considered one and is subject to judicial review. To sum up, the Administrative Procedure Act, 1946, of the U.S. protects the individual against abuses of power by ensuring that administrative proce- dures comply with the due process of law.

Administrative Reform in Pakistan

Both independent India and the new state of Pakistan inherited an administrative system

which had been consciously designed by the British Raj for the carrying out of its narrowly conceived functions. These functions, in brief, consisted of maintenance of law and order in the subcontinent, collection of the necessary revenues for performing its limited tasks and managing the governmental operations in the country in a way as not to run counter to the paramount needs and the ultimate interests of the home government in London. To be fair to the Raj, the developmental and promotional activities were undertaken by the British government in India and, what is more, were appreciably stepped up, both in scale and intensity, since the introduction of dyarchy in the provinces under the Government of India Act, 1919. They, however, were but subsidiary features of a regime with its avowed emphasis on law and order in the country.

It is a truism that a tool ought to be so designed as to accomplish the contemplated tasks and when the latter get changed the tool too needs to be suitably remodelled, if necessary. No less does this hold good in the case of the machinery of public administration, this expression being used in its broadest term. The inadequacies, imperfections and incapabilities of the machinery of public administration of both the countries became increasingly evident when their governments began taking up, in a systematic and planned way, the nation-building activities. To renovate the inherited administrative system, therefore, became among the foremost responsibilities, nay challenges, of the successor governments in the Indian subcontinent.

The responsibility in this respect was feebly shouldered. While a measure of boldness was shown in appointing a succession of committees on administrative reform, both India and Pakistan (subject to what follows) betrayed timidness, hardly indistinguishable from impotency, in acting on the recommendations made by these bodies. During the period 1947–73, India set up nearly 25 committees on administrative reform. This number leaves out the committees set up by the individual states for reform of the state administration. Nor, does it include the committees set up by both the central and state governments on reform of local government. No less impressive, at least in numerical terms, has been Pakistan's concern with the restructuring of her administrative system: it set up 26 committees in as many years.

Commonality of problems in the two countries

Both the states of India and

Pakistan have inherited a common history and culture. The hopes, aspirations and even anxieties of the people of the two countries, have been not too dissimilar either. Not surprisingly, the problems of public administration in the two countries have been very similar. Both for instance, felt that:

1. The machinery of administration was in need of reorganisation to cope with the new tasks of development.
2. The procedures of work current in public administration needed to be made business-like.
3. The morale in services was low and needed to be improved.
4. Public administration was extravagant and therefore need for economy was urgent.
5. The pay scales and emoluments of the civil servants needed periodic examination; and
6. Corruption in the civil service was widespread, calling for firm remedial measures.

Both shared another feature in common: a striking failure to reform the public administration of the country. Indeed, administrative reform has remained the unfinished business—and unredeemed pledge—of both the countries. Admitting complete failure in Pakistan's quest for an improved administrative system, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, prime minister of Pakistan, observed: 'A number of commissions and international experts advised successive governments in Pakistan about the need for reforming the outmoded administrative system. No action was taken. The reason was that the governments were not responsive to the people. The suggested reforms would have affected the privileged position of an entrenched few in the (civil) services who wielded unprecedented power and influence over the previous administrations. They, therefore, always managed to frustrate any attempt at (administrative) reforms.'[1] But it is to Pakistan's credit that it, with the return, in August 1973 of democracy in the land and the emergence of the Pakistan People's Party as the ruling party, broke from its past tradition of passivity in the field of administrative reform and introduced changes of a far-reaching nature in its public administration. It is this aspect which is proposed to be discussed in the remaining part of the present paper.

Constitution and the civil service

India's as well as Pakistan's first two constitutions have contained provisions granting safeguards and privileges to the civil

service. This, indeed, has been a most striking feature of the constitutions of these two countries—in the sense that modern constitutions are known to expound and embody the rights of citizens, not the right of the bureaucracy. The first constitution of Pakistan (1956) had Articles 179 to 183[2] devoted to the regulation of the recruitment and conditions of service of the country's civil service. Articles 184–189 dealt with the public service commission. The constitution of 1962, which replaced the first one of 1956, contained Articles 174 to 179 relating to the civil service of the country, which had the effect of removing the regulation of recruitment and conditions of service of the civil service from the purview of mere legislative control. The provision of the original Article 181 was enshrined in Article 177 of the constitution of 1962 but the arrangement visualised in Article 183 was dropped in the 1962 constitution. Article 177 of the new (1962) constitution provided: 'Subject to the constitution, a person who is a member of an all-Pakistan service or of a civil service of the centre or of a province, or who holds a civil post in connection with the affairs of the centre or of a province: (a) shall not be dismissed or removed from service, or reduced in rank, by an authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed unless that subordinate authority has been expressly empowered to do so by an authority not so subordinate; (b) subject to clause (2) of this Article, shall not be dismissed or removed from service, or be reduced in rank unless he has been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken with respect to him.' Articles 180–90 dealt with the appointment, composition, functions, etc., of the public service commission.

Pakistan's present constitution, enforced since August 1973, does not provide a constitutional base to the civil service. The civil service has thus come to be controlled, for the first time in Pakistan's history, by mere legislative enactments. This position has been made absolutely explicit. The constitution says:

> 'Subject to the constitution, the appointments to and the conditions of service of persons in the service of Pakistan shall be determined:
>
> a. in the case of the services of the federation, posts in connection with the affairs of the federation and all-Pakistan services, by or under act of parliament; and
> b. in the case of the services of

a province and posts in connection with the affairs of province, by or under act of the provincial assembly.

Explanation: In this entry "all-Pakistan service" means a service common to the federation and the provinces, which was in existence immediately before the commencing day or which may be created by act of parliament.'[3]

Even the public service commission has been made wholly dependent on the legislative will. The constitution says:

'1. Parliament in relation to the affairs of the federation and the provincial assembly of a province in relation to the affairs of the province may, by law, provide for the establishment and constitution of a public service commission.
2. A public service commission shall perform such functions as may be prescribed by law.'[4]

What explains this 'demotion' of the civil service? According to Bhutto: 'the (civil) services in Pakistan managed to get provisions incorporated in the previous constitutions, granting them safeguards and privileges. This, indeed, was a hangover of the times when the civil servants looked to the colonial power for protection and patronage. It would have been absurd for the National Assembly not to be in a position to exercise control over the (civil) services. The position has, therefore, been altered in the new constitution. The terms and conditions of services are now to be governed by legislative enactment.'[5] On another occasion, Bhutto expressed candidly his disillusionment with the country's civil service. He observed: 'I do not have any particular attachment for bureaucracy. Throughout my election campaign, before that and after that, I have openly criticised the bureaucracy. I have criticised the mentality of the bureaucracy. On taking over this office, among the first directives I issued was one which called upon the bureaucracy to change its outlook, to go to the people, to get integrated with the people and not to sit tight in the offices or get buried in files, nor to get glued to the secretariat because from the secretariat windows they could not hear the heart-beat of the people. The pity is that we still have the colonial legacy. Unfortunately, we have forgotten the good things of the past and only retained the bad ones.'[6]

Break with the past

The reform of the country's public administration was taken up with the utmost speed and earnestness by Pakistan's new government under Zulfikar Ali

Bhutto. Indeed, for the first time in Pakistan's twenty-five year history was the country's public administration obliged to accept changes of such a profound nature and far-reaching consequences; more reforms were introduced in the administrative system of the country in one sweep in a single year. It is noteworthy that the whole operation was designed and conducted with the precision, neatness and swiftness of a military campaign.

The Pakistan People's Party led by Z.A. Bhutto had pledged itself to the restructuring of the administrative system of the country. In its election manifesto, it observed:

> The present system of administration is a legacy of colonial rule; any modifications introduced were to promote the interests of groups holding the levers of powers within government and administration: the administration thus became its own master. The socialist regime will need a different structure of administration.[7]

The new government attributed the defeat and dismemberment of Pakistan in the Indo-Pak War of 1971, among others, to the follies, faults and foibles of its civil (as well as military) bureaucracy. In his very first address on 20 December 1971 after taking over as president of Pakistan, Z.A. Bhutto reprimanded the country's civil service and reiterated his resolve to reform it.

> I warn the bureaucracy to do its job, to do its duty ... I expect the bureaucracy to work night and day ... The tea parties must come to an end. The bluff and bravado must stop. The bureaucracy must be reoriented and it must be at the service of the people ... We need a liberal, dynamic bureaucracy at the service of the people. We do not need a bureaucracy which is working in the traditions and concepts of the British ... The bureaucracy of Pakistan is not composed of foreigners. And, when I talk of the bureaucracy I do not mean only the secretariat at Islamabad. I mean each and every bureaucrat wherever he is ... I will see to it that bureaucracy is at the service of the people. I will see to it that corruption and maladministration are finished, as long as I am holding the office on behalf of the people of Pakistan ... We will take care of bureaucracy. We will respect and honour intelligent, honest bureaucrats motivated with an ideal to serve Pakistan ... But we do not want opportunists and we do not want persons destroying the very fabric of this nation.[8]

His censure of the bureaucracy was unsparing when he announced the administrative reforms. 'No institution in the country', observed Bhutto, 'has lowered the quality of our national life as what is called *naukarshahi*. It has done so by imposing a caste system on our society. It has created a class of "brahmins" or mandarins, unrivalled in its snobbery and arrogance, insulated from the life of the people and incapable of identifying itself with them. This by itself is an indictment of the administrative system which should have been liquidated with the disappearance of foreign rule. But it is not only the repugnance of this system to our egalitarian concepts that demands its immediate abolition. Even from a pragmatic rather than ideological viewpoint, the structure needs to be reformed.'[9]

One of the earliest decisions taken by the government under the Pakistan People's Party was the announcement, in April 1972, of an Administrative Reforms Committee. The Administrative Reforms Committee consisted of four members including the chairman of the Federal Public Service Commission and the establishment secretary. Khurshid Hasan Meer, minister without portfolio, was its chairman, the fourth member being the minister for political affairs and communications. The composition of the committee was so designed as to inject a measure of radicalism in its thinking and to enlist political support for its recommendations. The committee's terms of reference wanted it to take stock of the position, review the various proposals made from time to time, formulate 'an action programme' of administrative reform in the light of the country's requirements.

The organisation of the civil service of the two countries has not been very different from each other. Just as India has structured its civil service into (i) the all-India services, and (ii) the central civil services, and has classified its public personnel into four classes —class I, class II, class III and class IV—Pakistan, too, had, until August 1973, a strikingly similar pattern of civil service. Its structure was so designed and operated as to leave no one in any doubt as to the unconcealed primacy of the generalist Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP), the successor-service to the famed Indian Civil Service of the pre-partition period. It remained totally unperturbed and undisturbed by the demand of the specialists for an effective say in the policy-making processes of the government. The Khurshid Hasan Meer committee recommended

the formation of a unified civil service in the place of a number of separate civil services.

The timing of the report proved fateful. Pakistan was at this time in the throes of unprecedented floods. The natural calamity exposed the inadequacy of the bureaucracy in terms of the tasks entrusted to it and poignantly underlined the necessity of reform in the public administration of the country. So, Pakistan lost no time in acting on the recommendation made by the Meer committee. On 20 August 1973, the government announced the following measures of administrative reforms:

1. All the services and cadres in the Pakistan government have been merged into a unified civil service with equality of opportunity for all based on the professional and specialised competence necessary for each job.
2. The four-fold classification of the public personnel has been replaced by a unified grading structure, a peon at the bottom, a secretary or departmental head at the top. This has the effect of opening the road to the top to all on merit. In all, a unified twenty-two grade pay scale has been introduced, thus doing away with over 600 salary scales which were in operation.
3. The unified structure of the civil service enables promotions to the higher posts throughout the range of the public service and horizontal movements from one cadre to another including the movement of technical personnel to the cadre of general management.
4. The correct grading of each posts is determined by job evaluation.
5. There is provision for lateral entry into government service.

Consequent upon the creation of a unified civil service structure, each of the existing services has become converted into a functional branch of the single unified service retaining its separate occupational identity but no longer constituting a separate service as such. A few, new functional branches may be instituted to accommodate such occupational or professional personnel who did not have a regular service identity and who, at the same time, cannot be classified under one of the existing functional branches.[10]

Corruption in the civil service

Corruption in the civil service has been rampant in Pakistan, as in India. 'It', says Bhutto, 'is the major cause in tarnishing the image of administration ... Part of this evil is due ... to the existing administrative structure itself.

What is appalling is that corruption has become a way of life in our country, firmly built into the working of some departments ... The dilatory and cumbersome nature of anti-corruption procedures has been used as a means of protecting the guilty and victimising the innocent.'[11] Soon after his assumption of the office of president, Bhutto ordered the premature retirement of more than one thousand civil servants—'to clean the administration from corruption.'[12] Those purged were from the departments of foreign service, education, police, health, irrigation and forest. Bhutto swore: 'The corrupt will find no mercy.'[13] To combat administrative corruption systematically, Pakistan set up an ombudsman-like machinery by appointing a functionary called 'president's representative for administrative inspection'. The president's representative for administrative inspection seeks to redress the grievances of the citizens against bureaucratic abuses. Since 1973, the Pakistan Special Police Establishment maintains a permanent list of. corrupt public personnel, which includes:

1. those who live beyond their means,
2. those who have a persistent bad reputation of being corrupt, and
3. those who have acquired assets disproportionate to their legitimate income.[14]

Also, administrative courts have been set up in Pakistan to adjudicate cases brought by citizens against illegal, arbitrary or malafide decisions or actions of civil servants.

Redressal of civil servants' grievances

The reforms have recognised an equally pressing urgency of speedy redressal of civil servants' grievances. To attend to this aspect of the problem, Pakistan has constituted an administrative tribunal which addresses itself to the task of dealing with the civil servants' complaints on personnel matters. The service tribunal is a statutory body consisting of a chairman who possesses the qualifications of the judge of a high court and two other members. It has jurisdiction in respect of matters relating to the terms and conditions of service and redressal of grievances caused by a departmental authority's decision.[15] It is common knowledge that the public personnel in both Pakistan and India have got exposed to a vigorous inter- and cross-play of bureaucratic and factional politics and many are seen to smart under a feeling of injustice meted out to them in matters relating to service. All this is bound to have a deleterious effect on their morale.

The creation of a forum where the civil servants could get their grievances redressed is, therefore, a timely move on the part of that country, and India, too, is advised to read the writings on the wall and bring into existence a similar mechanism.

Separation of the judiciary from the executive

Mention also deserves to be made of the separation of the judiciary from the executive in Pakistan. While addressing the nation on 13 April 1972, Bhutto observed:

> A recurrent demand of the people since the days of the British in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent has been the separation of judiciary from the executive. This was introduced by administrative order at one time in the province of West Pakistan. Soon enough it was found that a half-way house has no benefits, and the status-quo was resumed. Things were not allowed to rest at that. So, there came a time when the previous regime not only took administrative steps to tighten the executive power over subordinate criminal judiciary but actually pushed the clock of progress back by the endorsement of the West Pakistan Criminal Law (Amendment) Act which introduced the *jirga* system which was the very travesty of justice. The dispensation of justice became the handmaiden of the rulers ... Justice henceforth will be completely independent of the executive, and independence is a basic requirement for impartiality ... We have played our part. It is now for the judges to fulfil their function.[16]

Reform in police administration

The reforms were introduced in the police administration as well. In his first address as Pakistan's president, Bhutto made public his determination to reform the police. 'The police has a bad name. Partly it is justified, partly it is not justified. When it is not justified we will do everything to see that the facilities for the police, their children's education, housing and other matters are put right, because you cannot have an honest policeman with vast powers at a salary of Rs 100 or so ... So to the police I say ... you must put an end to your *zulum*. You must put an end to your tyranny. You must see to it that the security of every individual, no matter how poor he is, is respected.'[17] Immediately after this announcement, a one-man committee headed by G. Ahmed was entrusted with the task of examining this segment of public

administration. In April 1972 Pakistan announced reforms aimed at building up a 'uniform and efficient' police force in Pakistan. A Federal Police Organisation has been set up to deal with such offences as inter-provincial smuggling, illicit traffic in drugs, currency offences, enforcement of laws relating to foreigners, immigration and passport, child-lifting from one province to another and other heinous inter-provincial crimes. To promote the acquisition of skills and specialisation, the crime police has been separately organised in urban areas. The Police Training School at Sihala has been converted into the Police Training Academy to impart training to senior police personnel as well. Police stations all over the country have been connected by telephone or wireless and the police force has been equipped with better weapons. Simultaneously, action was taken to make the police responsible and responsive to the people at large. The district consultative committees consisting of members of the public and the police have been set up to periodically review police-public relations. A standing committee of the provincial legislature has been constituted for this purpose. To curb corruption, special tribunals have been appointed with the power to fire dishonest officials. Recognising that 'a dissatisfied police force seeks to give vent to its fury on the people',[18] the government took steps to improve the conditions of service of the police. These included enhancement of the minimum salary and allowances and introduction of new ones.

Training

The reforms attach the utmost meaning to training and call for changes in the training institutions and their programmes. In the words of Bhutto, 'Unfortunately, our training institutions have suffered or imbibed the defects of the administrative system, under which they have been operating. They have sought to make our officials gentlemen and amateurs ... Under the new set up our training institutions must take note of the pressing urges and demands of modernised management in a world that has become highly scientific and specialised. Training should be organised for all categories of government personnel. Special attention should be devoted to the training of local government officials which had hitherto been entirely neglected.'[19] The training institutions in Pakistan were directly linked with the class system of the service structure. Consequent upon the unification of the services, these institutions have been overhauled and new syllabi and teaching methods have been introduced.

Reform in business methods

The present piece is apt to be incomplete without a reference to the reform in the procedure of work followed in the government. The conventional method of work in the secretariat emphasises notings on files and submission of drafts by clerks and assistants. In addition to contributing to delay, this gives decision-making power to the clerical personnel culminating in the emergence of what is called *babooraj*. In 1959, Pakistan departed from this mode of functioning and adopted what it calls the section officers' scheme. The section officers' scheme is like India's officer-oriented system, or desk-officer system, of functioning. Under the section officers' scheme each secretariat branch has been reconstituted into 2 sections, each under the charge of a section officer. The section officers are of the rank of under secretary and have been given the supportive staff consisting of an assistant and a stenographer. The section officer combines the duties previously performed by the branch officer (i.e. an under secretary in India), the superintendent (i.e. the section officer in India) and the dealing assistant. The dealing assistant neither 'notes' on cases nor 'puts up' drafts; he has been made responsible for:

1. submitting the cases, properly referenced and flagged, to the section officer,
2. keeping notes of important orders and decisions, and
3. any other clerical duty assigned to him.

The following types of branches have, however, been excluded from the operation of the scheme:

1. Receipt and issue branches,
2. Cash and accounts branches, and
3. Branches dealing with statistics.

The section officers' scheme, introduced in October 1959, brings a problem under the direct scrutiny of an officer from the beginning, thus both raising the level of decision-making and reducing delay. Pakistan's switchover to this pattern of working is a reasonably sufficient proof of its feasibility in India as well.

Concluding observations

Taken all together, the administrative reforms under the Bhutto regime show the promise of acquiring historic significance in the annals of the Indian subcontinent marking as they do the inauguration in a part of it of a radically new public personnel system. The reforms integrated all the services, thus eliminating the recriminatory categorisation within the civil service. By throwing the doors, within the service and outside, open to talents, the reforms are a move towards meritocracy. Again,

for the first time, the specialists are enabled to move into the mainstream of higher management and make their contributions to policy-making. Important as these material changes are, much more telling is the psychological change injected in the bureaucracy. For the first time the civil servants have been sternly reminded that instead of behaving as unchallengeable lords of their respective bailiwicks, they have to earn and deserve their place at every stage of their official career and be conscious all the time of their accountability to the people.

It is obviously too early to comment on these measures, for these are yet to be justified by results. The crucial test lies in how the new institutions and mechanisms function in practice. The civil (and military) bureaucracy in Pakistan has been unusually powerful, accustomed as it is to function as a ruling class, and the reform of such a body is by no means an easy exercise. On the contrary, it is an uphill task, particularly in the earlier phases of operation of this nature. To take only one example, the introduction of a unified grading structure is not smooth or easy. It requires, among others, job evaluation of all positions in the civil service, which itself is a painstaking, time-consuming assignment demanding high-level expertise. Besides, consequent upon all posts being fitted into a smaller number of grades, the total civil service wage bill is apt to go up considerably. Here, one has to consider how far the national economic resources are able and adequate to meet this demand. One should also guard against the possibility of formally discarded institutions and condemned practices reappearing and seeking a measures of legitimacy in the new set-up and thus surviving under new labels. To expedite implementation and act as a watchdog of reforms, Pakistan has established an administrative reforms cell in the Establishment Division.[20] The need for surveillance, monitoring, feedback and performance audit is, in this context, compelling.

In contrast to what has been implemented in Pakistan, India's efforts towards modernising her public administration pale into insignificance. Despite a large number of committees appointed to suggest administrative reforms, she has remained content to add what are essentially in the nature of 'correction slips' to the inherited administrative system, making no more than marginal adjustments and changes in her public administration.

Consequent upon the administrative measures in Pakistan, two administrative patterns are now in operation—and in competition

with each other—in the Indian subcontinent. Which of the two will eventually prove more effective and public-spirited? The administrative drama being enacted in the subcontinent is worth watching and analysing.

[1]Quoted in *Morning News*, (Karachi), 21 August 1973, p. 10.

[2]More significant were Articles 181 and 183. Article 181 observed: 'No person who is a member of a civil service of the federation or of a province, or of an all-Pakistan service, or holds a civil post in connection with the affairs of the federation, or of a province, shall be dismissed or removed from service, or reduced in rank, by an authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed. No such person as aforesaid shall be dismissed or removed from service, or reduced in rank, until he has been given a reasonable opportunity of showing cause against the action proposed to be taken in regard to him.' Article 183 mentioned: 'No member of an all-Pakistan service shall be transferred to a province to serve in connection with the affairs of that province, or be transferred from that province, except by order of the president made after consultation with the governor of that province. While a member of an all-Pakistan service is serving in connection with the affairs of a province, his promotion and transfer within that province, and the initiation of any disciplinary proceedings against him in relation to his conduct in that province, shall take place by order of the governor of that province.'

[3]Article 240 of the *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*, Karachi, Manager of Publication, 1973.

Until the legislature enacts the necessary legislation to regulate appointments and conditions of service, the existing arrangements in these matters are to continue. Article 241 mentions: 'Until the appropriate legislature makes a law under Article 240, all rules and orders in force immediately before the commencing day shall, so far as consistent with the provisions of the constitution, continue in force and may be amended from time to time by the federal government or, as the case may be the provincial government.'

[4]Article 242 of the *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*.

[5]Pakistan Prime Minister, Z.A. Bhutto's nationwide radio and television speech on 20 August 1973. Vide *The Pakistan Times*. (Rawalpindi), 21 August 1973, p. 3.

[6]Z.A. Bhutto was addressing the engineers on 13 February 1972. See *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Speeches and Statements*. 20 December 1971–31 March 1972, Karachi, Department of Films and Publications, Government of Pakistan, 1972, p. 85.

[7]The *Morning News*, (Karachi), 30 November 1972, Supplement on Pakistan People's Convention, p. 2.

[8]*Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Speeches and Statements* (20 December 1971–31 March 1972), Karachi, Department of Films and Publications, Government of Pakistan, 1972, pp. 8–9.

[9]*The Pakistan Times*, (Rawalpindi), 21 August 1973, p. 3.

[10]For Bhutto's statement, see *The Pakistan Times*, 21 August 1973, p. 3.

[11]*Ibid.*, 21 August 1973, p. 3.

[12]*The Times of India*, 13 March 1972, p. 6.

[13]*Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Speeches and Statements* 1 April–30 June 1972, Karachi, Department of Films and Publications, Government of Pakistan, 1972, p. 2.

[14]*The Morning News* (Karachi), 1 August 1973, p. 1.

[15]*The New Times* (Rawalpindi), 9 September 1973, pp. 1 and 4.

[16]Z.A. Bhutto's address to the nation announcing law reforms on 13 April 1972. *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Speeches and Statements*, 1 April–30 June 1972, Karachi Department of Films and Publications, Government of Pakistan, 1972, pp. 15–16.

[17]*Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Speeches and Statements*, 30 December 1971–31 March 1972, Karachi Department of Films and Publications, Government of Pakistan, 1972, p. 9.

[18]Z.A. Bhutto's address to the nation announcing police reforms on 12 April 1972. *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: Speeches and Statements*, 1 April–30 June 1972, Karachi, Department of Films and Publications, Government of Pakistan, 1972, p. 10.

[19]*The Morning News* (Karachi), 21 August 1973, p. 10.

[20]*The Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 22 August 1973, p. 7.

Administrative Reform in the United Kingdom since Eighties

Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party came into power in 1979. The post-1979 period may be said to have passed through three phases of administrative reform in the United Kingdom. The first phase concentrated primarily on reduction of public expenditure. The civil service numbers were reduced by 14 per cent from the 1979 levels and subsequently by a further 6 per cent. The Civil Service Department, first created in 1968 following the Fulton committee report, was abolished. The civil service pay bill was brought under tighter ministerial control. Cuts in programmes were carried out in most departments. The first phase was dominated by the economy drive and success was achieved too in this respect.

But the economy drive had its limitations. The second shift was marked by emphasis on efficiency. Public administration in this phase was driven by the goal of greater efficiency which means doing more with less; it means' in another words, improving input-output ratio. This phase lasted till late 1980s, its emphasis being summed up in the 'Three E', namely economy, efficiency and effectiveness in the public sector. Emphasis now was on the conscious development of financial management skills in public administration. New audit agencies were set up with an extended role. The Audit Commission was set up in 1982, followed by the National Audit Office in 1983. The new audit role was to go into

questions of efficiency and value for money (VFM). The second phase, above all, saw a wide-ranging privatisation drive in Great Britain as shown in the following list:

1.	British Telecom	1984
2.	British Gas	1986
3.	The British Airport Authority	1987
4.	Water Supply and Sewage	1989
5.	Electricity	1990–91, 93
6.	British Rail	1994

In the period 1979 till 1990, over 800,000 employees were transferred from the government to the private sector. The amount procured from privatisation exceeded £100 billion. The public bureaucracy is as a result much slimmer today.

The third phase began in 1987. This period witnessed the launching of several public service reform initiatives. Reliance on a much bolder and larger scale was placed on what are termed, market related mechanisms. Activity and action centres were brought closer to where people worked and lived. This meant decentralisation of management and production of services. There was a conscious pursuit to improve the quality of service along with an emphasis on an improvement of quality of customer service, emphasis being placed on a customer-focussed delivery system. An example being the sponsorship of the citizen's charter and service first.

Today, following the *Next Steps* (1988) ninety executive agencies have been created, some of the new ones being the Benefits Agency, the Driver and Vehicle Licensing Agency, the Patent Agency.

The thrust of the post-1979 reform is anti-state and pro-market.[1] In the same way, managerialism is widely courted now. There is a need to label the concepts of public administration under various names: 'New Public Management' (NPM) is the newly acclaimed concept.

[1]Christopher Pollitt: 'Anti-Statist Reforms and new Administrative Directories: Public Administration in the United Kingdom', in *Public Administration Review*, Jan-Feb. 1996, vol. 56, vol. I, pp. 81–87.

Administrative Review

The device of administrative review associates the grant-receiving agency with the process of determining compliance, and aims to stress the joint interest in improving programme content rather than formal compliance with each and every detailed requirement. Administrative review is an example of an administrative invention which has had an important influence on the nature and quality of the programme.

Administrative Science

A systematic study of administration, both public and private, in all its aspects. Administrative science includes both public administration and business administration and seeks to formulate generic principles and paradigms applicable to all forms of organisation.

Administrative State

The phrase 'Administrative State' was first used by Dwight Waldo in 1948: *Administrative State* is the title of his work. But Waldo did not define the term. In 1957, Morstein Marx published his work *The Administrative State.* Dwight Waldo did not define administrative state: he equated it with the growth of public administration as a subject of study. Morstein Marx attempted a definition. He observes: 'The "administrative state" should be thought of not as a state devoid of legislative and judicial organs but as a state in which administrative organisation and operations are particularly prominent at least in their quantitative aspects'. Ralph Clark Chandler delineates the following ten criteria of the administrative state:

1. A workable organisation in the classic hierarchic sense.
2. The recruitment of expertise on merit.
3. Rational decision-making.
4. The rule of law, with an emphasis on equality before the law.
5. Written procedures and records.
6. Money economy with sufficent funds to support the administrative apparatus.
7. At least a modest base in quantitative data and technique.
8. Adequate supporting technology, especially pertaining to records, communications and numeracy.
9. Enforcement of responsibility and ethical standards.
10. All of the abóve in a moderately developed and mutually supporting arrangement.[1]

The administrative state, today, faces a challenge under the worldwide movement for economic liberalisation and freer play of market forces. Historically, the administrative state has been universal and well entrenched: Will this be reversed in the face of mounting privatisation? It is difficult to believe that the administrative state would come to an end. Rather, the present retreat of the state may be treated as a limited expedition into the backwaters. Bureaucracy is not a cancer but only a fat cell—which can shrink or swell, depending upon the situation.

Administrative state: A study of the political theory of American public administration

A pioneering work of this kind was first published in 1948 but is still read and referred to. Dwight Waldo does not define the administrative state. It is implied when he refers to the modern state as being positively involved in the promotion of the economic well-being of the citizens. As a field of conscious study, public administration traces its birth to the year 1887 when Thomas Woodrow Wilson published his memorable essay titled 'The Study of Administration' in the *Political Science Quarterly*. The discipline was born and was gaining popularity as well but lacked a coherent history until 1948. The gap was filled by Dwight Waldo when his book *Administrative State* was published in 1948. In this year, public administration acquired both a historian and a philosopher. The title of Waldo's work is suggestive enough. The Great Society that America became exudes limitless faith in science and scientific methodology. The Great Society is essentially an industrial and urban civilisation with its values anchored in individualism, materialism, egalitarianism and democracy. American political thinking, according to Waldo, reflected the hard, ground-level realities. Scholars in the field of public administration were busy suggesting administrative reorganisations and were too pre-occupied with their gadgets to look backward. This is what Waldo did. At long last, public administration in the U.S.A. found a historian and a philosopher. *Administrative State* adopts a pragmatic approach to government and public administration.

[1]Ralph C. Chandler (ed.): *A Centennial History of the American Administrative State*, New York, The Free Press, 1987, pp. 5–6.

Administrative Theory

Administrative theory started to develop at the beginning of the twentieth century. This is because organisational vigour began to be felt only around this time. Administrative theory is a loose term referring to a complex of research findings, propositions, beliefs, views and suggestions. It is, thus, a highly generalised term. Administrative theory comprises four bodies of knowledge. To put them in chronological order, these are bureaucracy (Max Weber); scientific management (Frederick W. Taylor), formal administrative theory (Henri Fayol); human relations theory (Elton Mayo); neo-human relations theory (Douglas McGregor and others); and systems theory. These are discussed separately in the present work.

Administrative Transfers

Administrative transfers are a part of a sound career service, but these must be planned and be part of a well thought out career plan. It is this which is lacking, throwing to the winds the sane advice given by Lord Curzon who was India's viceroy once. Lord Curzon had warned that one cannot have good administration without local knowledge (Sir T. Raleigh: *Lord Curzon in India*, 1906, p. 77). A commonly heard complaint about the Indian administration was that transfers were too common affording little opportunity for the acquisition of local knowledge. Transfers were not only too many but these were unplanned and haphazard. Jong Bright referred to this practice in his speech in the House of Commons in the year 1859. One officer had twenty-one offices in as many years, another twenty-four in thirteen years, a third seventeen in thirteen years, and a fourth twenty-one in eighteen years.

Administrative Tribunal

A multi-member body to hear and pass judgment on cases filed by staff members alleging non-observation of their terms of appointment including service conditions. Such tribunals have been established in most countries. India has a statutory Central Administrative Tribunal, first set up in 1985. The United Nations established the seven-member UN Administrative Tribunal in 1949.

Adversary System of Justice

Adversary system of justice which obtains in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, etc., refers to the system in which both the opposing parties (the defence and the prosecution) are provided with an opportunity to challenge each other's case and present their respective views of fact and law, before an impartial third party which after hearing them delivers judgment backed by the force of law.

This is primarily the Anglo-American system of justice, tracing its origin to the Magna Carta signed in England in 1215. Adversarial system is one system of justice, the other being the inquisitorial system.

Affirmative Action

An explicit policy initiated to overcome the effects of past discrimination. The term was first coined in the U.S.A. with the enactment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, 1972, also known as reverse discrimination. In India, 'affirmative action' is known as 'reservation system'.

Ageism

Discrimination against persons of a certain age group. A prejudice prevails in many organisations against employment of older persons. Ageism may show itself in various ways, e.g. through lack of attention.

Agency

An administrative unit of government called department, office, board, bureau, commission, etc., whose primary task is to execute government function or law. Public agencies have different nomenclatures, vary in size and complexity of functions and even in goals.

Agglomeration

A pattern of elite recruitment that formally fosters the development of several paths to eminence, but effectively controls them by the dominance of a single elite. A trait of prismatic society.

Agraharam

A Brahmin village; a street inhabited by Brahmins alone.

Agraria and Industria

Earliest models of politico-administrative system developed by Fred W. Riggs in 1955. Agraria and Industria are two polar models for the least and the most developed types of politico-administrative system. An intermediate constructed type also existed called 'transitia'. The Agraria and Industaria constructs were later abandoned by Riggs and replaced by his fused-diffracted (or, refracted) types, the intermediate system being 'prismatic'.

Akali Dal

It is a major party of the Sikhs, often being a ruling party in Punjab—susceptible to splits.

Alienation

'Alienation' is among the leading themes in literature as well as sociological thought especially since the 1950s. But the concept is an old one, dating back to Hegel who first introduced it in sociology. Feurbach and Karl Marx had also discussed 'alienation' in great detail. Today, 'alienation' is mostly associated with Karl Marx. According to Marx, man's nature is to be his own creator. In other words, a man can transform the world outside him, of course, in cooperation with others. This control however, man has lost. As a result, his nature has become alien to man; it belongs to another person, he is no longer in control of himself. In religion, man is dependent on God; in economics it is money that controls men as though they were mere commodities. What is said here is that man has lost

control over his own destiny—this control has got vested in other entities. What essentially belongs to man has become, in other words, alien to him. Capitalism breeds alienation. The social arrangements under capitalism do not provide him with opportunities for a creative and meaningful existence. The worker is alienated from work in the sense that he receives neither satisfaction from his work nor the product of his labour. According to Marx, alienation means an action through which man becomes alien to his own product or even his nature under which he lives. Alienation is self-alienation. Marx uses this term to call for a revolutionary change of the world, which is de-alienation.

Alienation is, thus, the state of being withdrawn or isolated from the society through indifference or disaffection. It is characterised by five features—powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement.

In public administration, the term is often used to imply estrangement from the organisation, its value and purposes. An individual's sense of unimportance even divorces him from his own nature. Alienation was a philosophical term but was directed into sociology by Karl Marx, who claimed that human estrangement was inherent in the capitalist social structures which wean away men from their essential human nature.

All India Anna-Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)

A state-level political party of Tamil Nadu founded by M.G. Ramachandran. Acts as a ruling party also.

All-India State's People's Conference

The Indian National Congress was a nationalist political party covering the whole of the British India and working for the country's independence. Its counterpart in what was known as 'Indian India' was the All-India State's People's Conference. The All India State's People's Conference was a conference or association of the people of the princely states to discuss the problems of the states from the nationalist angle. It sought reform in the princely states raising its voice against autocracy and misrule and the corruption and degradation that prevailed in them. It met annually to discuss the problems and concerns of the people living in the princely states and to advocate agreed solutions. The All-India State's People's Conference worked closely with the Indian National Congress, acting as its arm in the princely states. It

opened its session with the singing of the 'bande mataram' song.

Amalguzar

The title of the field-level revenue official under the Mughals. He was the principal local revenue collector. He was magistrate and police officer as well as a revenue functionary. In fact, he enjoyed much larger authority dealing with all matters affecting the well-being of the peasantry. His duties and role have a striking resemblance with those of the district collector and magistrate of the subsequent age.[1]

[1]*The Imperial Gazeteer of India*, vol. IV–*Administrative.*

Ameen

The title of a field-level lower functionary employed under the civil courts; an overseer. The name is also applied to native assistants engaged in land survey.

Amilder

Manager; overseer.

American Society for Public Administration (ASPA)

Established in 1939, the American Society for Public Administration is the national professional association of public administration teachers and administrators in the United States. It has a membership of more than 2000. Its members include corporate managers also, which indicates that its spread is large and varied. It brings out a journal, *Public Administration Review* which, today, is a bi-monthly. The American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) is a vigorous professional association which holds an annual conference and regional conferences. In addition, it offers several membership benefits such as group insurance, special publications, developmental workshops, study tours, etc.

Though formally established in 1939, the ASPA has a much longer history. Its beginning in a sense may be traced to the year 1914 when the American Political Science Association appointed a Committee on Instruction in Government which emphasised that the object of political science was to impart training of citizenship, professional preparations, such as law and journalism, training 'experts' and to prepare specialists for governmental positions, and education for research work. Two years earlier, in 1912, the Committee on Practical Training for Public Service was appointed by the America Political Science Association and in its report submitted in 1914 it recommended that special professional schools are needed to train public administrators and that a new technical degree is necessary

for this purpose. In 1914, thus, the Society for the Promotion of Training for the Public Service was established. This was the forerunner of the American Society for Public Administration.

Amir or Ameer

An Arabic word, meaning 'noble man'. The word is of Mughal origin.

Amir-i-Jamia

A vice-chancellor.

Ancient Regime

The type of rule which prevailed in Europe before the French Revolution (1789) which overthrew the absolute monarchy of the Bourbons and the system of privileges. It refers to the system of government which existed in France before the Revolution.

Anglo-Indian

The term applied to the British people working and living in India during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Later, it was applied to those of mixed blood. Anglo-Indians exhibited certain features typical of the caste system in India. They married among themselves and were concentrated in the railways, postal and excise services of British India. A vanishing community in independent India.

Anna

A coin indicating the sixteenth part of a rupee. The term denotes a corresponding fraction of any kind of property. For instance, one-anna share is 1/16 of such right. The term has fallen in disuse since the mid-fifties since the adoption of the metric system of currency.

Annexation

An American practice found in local government. Annexation is the means by which a local government in the U.S.A. extends its territory. The practice of annexation is an old one dating back to the early 1800s and is still quite common. Annexation is inspired by two motives (i) to extend municipal services to new areas; and (ii) to strengthen the tax base of the municipal government.

Annual Financial Statement

Popularly known as the budget, it is a statement made by the finance minister in the legislative chamber containing the probable income and expenditure of the Government of India for any year. The annual financial statement called the Statement of the Estimated Receipts and Expenditure of the Government of India is presented to the Lok Sabha usually on the last day of February. It is presented in two parts—the railway budget pertaining to railway finance and the general budget.

The former budget is presented a few days earlier. On the dates when the railway budget and the general budget are presented in the Lok Sabha, a copy of each is laid on the table of the Rajya Sabha as well.

Applied Research

Research undertaken with a specific application in view.

Apprenticeship

An arrangement where an employer engages a person under contract and trains him for an occupation or job for a duration which has been fixed in advance. An apprentice is thus, a trainee or a learner who is bound to serve the employer at the end of his apprenticeship. This was the lowest category of the Covenanted Civil Service under the East India Company.

Appropriate Technology

Appropriate technology seeks its stimulation from E.F. Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* (1973). In simple terms, it means, we should choose tools and materials which are readily available near the place of our work and the techniques of production and organisation arrangements should be in tune with local social practices. Human needs are at the centre of development under appropriate technology. Its single greatest foe is the multinational corporation committed as it is to the advanced technology used in the metropolitan country.

Technological development made technology capital-intensive and labour-saving, which is not to the advantage of all the countries of the world. The developing countries see this trend as being detrimental to their interests. They face a shortage of capital resources but are rich in labour. These poorer countries of the world thus demand appropriate technology which means the invention and development of technology which is appropriate to their local situation. In other words, the developing countries prefer technology which uses local resources and skills and make minimum demand on local capital resources.

Appropriations

Appropriation is a legislative authorisation for payment of money from the treasury for a specified use. The legislative approval to incur the expenditure is signified in an Appropriation Act. In India, (as in Great Britain) only the executive can initiate such a proposal. The Parliament cannot move such a proposal: it can only reduce or annul it. In the U.S.A., on the other hand, a legislator is free to move an expenditure proposal in the House of Representatives.

Artificial Intelligence

An area of study combining psychology and information technology, which exhibits characteristics of human intelligence. These machines seek to reproduce the human thought processes and are employed in the development of expert systems which simulate human expertise.

Asian Development Bank

Established in 1966, the Asian Development Bank, located at Manila, has the primary responsibility to make loans and equity investments for the economic and social advancement of developing countries of the Asian region. The Bank also provides technical assistance for the preparation and execution of development projects and advisory services, to promote investment of public and private capital for development purposes, and to respond to requests for assistance in coordinating development policies and plans of member countries. The bank gives special attention to the needs of the smaller or less developed countries and gives priority to regional, sub-regional and national projects and programmes to promote the harmonious economic growth of the Asian region as a whole. The financial resources of the Asian Development Bank consist of ordinary capital resources comprising subscribed capital, reserves and funds raised through borrowings, and Special Funds comprising resources of the Asian Development Fund, the Technical Assistance Special Fund and the Japan Special Fund. India is a regional member of the bank.

Assistant

An assistant is part of the office headed by a section officer, who is the first-line supervisor in the secretariat. He is a non-gazetted official recruited through the Staff Selection Commission. He is required to work under the supervision of the section officer and is responsible for the work entrusted to him. He puts up a brief note with a draft letter, if necessary, keeping in view the guidelines contained in the *Manual of Office Procedure*. In the context of the fast-changing work culture, assistants use computers to update various data. The minimum educational qualification required for the post is a university degree.

Assistant Secretary

During the colonial period, the imperial secretariat as it was called then was a compact, sleek body with fewer levels. As the report of Llewllyn Smith's Government of India Secretariat Procedure Committee (1920) observed: the secretariat 'organisation should be of the nature of a pyramid, the apex of which is secretary and the base

the assistant secretaries'. The post of assistant secretary was created in 1920 as a result of the acceptance of the Llewellyn Smith committee report and was filled by promotion by those who had been originally recruited as upper division clerks in the secretariat. Assistant secretaryship was designed as a prize post given to the ablest among the superintendents. The hope that the deserving upper division clerks would have the opportunities for advancement to the level of assistant secretaries would attract better persons to join this level initially. In the words of the Llewellyn Smith committee, assistant secretaryships would be prize appointments open to the best men while they are still comparatively young. For long and meritorious service other rewards such as special grade pay, are suitable, but for the type of 'work required of an assistant secretary too long a period of subordinate office work is, in our opinion, a disqualification'. The assistant secretary came from the subordinate service whereas the higher posts of secretary, deputy secretary and under secretary as a rule came from the Indian Civil Service.

The assistant secretaryship was the base of the secretariat system in India. The posts of under secretary were manned by the members of the Indian Civil Service. But these posts were so close to each other that one of them was redundant as the only difference was that the post of under secretary was reserved for the ICS while the other post was filled by the imperial secretariat service. The Llewellyn Smith committee recommended the abolition of the post of under secretary, which was not accepted by the government. The assistant secretaryship was abolished in 1946 as a result of the Tottenham recommendation.[1]

[1]Report of the Government of India Secretariat Procedure Committee, 1920, para 47.

Associative Democracy

Associative democracy is an alternative in the quest for new forms of economic and social governance. It is a supplement to representative democracy and market economies. Associative democracy attends to the problems of the overload of a large government by democratising and empowering the society. It transfers social provisions to self-governing voluntary organisations while retaining public funding and political accountability. Associative democracy is a move towards placing political responsibility and governmental tasks in the hands of the citizens. It emphasises the relationship between the administration and the administered on a basis of cooperation and trust.

The concept has been developed by a British professor Paul Hirst.

Asom Gana Parishad

The party was founded just before the December 1985 assembly election as a result of the split in the pro-Assamese All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad and the All Assam Students' Union. This is a regional political party operating in the state of Assam.

Attainment

A criterion of recruitment that combines the formal aspects of achievements and merit with the fact of ascription. An attribute of prismatic society.

Attorney-General of India

The chief law officer of India and the legal advisor to the government. Appointed by the president of India, he holds office at his pleasure.

Attrition

Diminution in the stock of manpower as a result of death, retirement, resignations from employment and departure. A concept used in personnel administration.

Audit

Audit is the official examination and verification of accounts and records, especially of financial accounts. It is conducted by an independent auditor to ensure that these records show a true and accurate account of business transacted. Audit is, thus, a tool of financial control as reflected through voucher-checking. However, audit has gone beyond mere examination of financial records: it evinces its concern with programme activities.

Authoritarian Personality

A personality syndrome characterised by rigidity of thinking, domineering attitude on the part of the hierarchical superior. This kind of personality shows 'concern for task' rather than 'concern for men'.

Authority

Authority is the right to influence other individuals' behaviour in a desired direction. It is the right to control, command or determine. Authority is a sub-type of power. One can have power without authority but one cannot have authority without power. People willingly obey authority as this exercise of power is perceived as legitimate. Max Weber (1864–1920) distinguished between charismatic, traditional and rational-legal authority. Charismatic authority is obeyed because followers believe that the leader possesses an extraordinary personal gift which makes his

authority transcend existing or customary practices. Charismatic authority is associated with some extraordinary attributes which people perceive in the leader. A charismatic leader often emerges during psychologically heightened occasions such as during revolutions. Such situations are uncommon in human history and arise where there is a breakdown of norms and values as is the situation during revolutionary situations or war. Traditional authority is based on custom and ancient usage. Rational-legal authority is backed by law and an organisation based on it, called bureaucracy, is technically the most efficient form of organisation. The most familiar form of authority is rational-legal authority and it is contemporary. In this form, authority is legitimised by recognised rules, laws and constitutional procedures. The rational-legal basis of authority is compatible with democracy.

The harsh tone of authority was toned down by Chester Barnard in his *The Functions of the Executive* (1938). He wrote: 'Authority fails because individuals, in sufficient numbers, regard the burden involved in accepting necessary orders as changing the balance of advantages against their interests ... by virtue of which it is accepted by a member of the organisation as governing the action he contributes.'

These are truly revolutionary thoughts. According to Chester Barnard, 'Authority springs from the bottom-up'; it lies in the subordinates. On the question of authority, mention must be made of Mary Parker Follett who advocated replacing the 'law of authority' with the 'law of the situation'.

Today, one may discern a fourth form of authority as well—the legitimacy accorded to the expert. Today's world is a highly advanced world according a high level of primacy to the expert.

Automation

The term was first used by the Ford Motor Company in the late 1940s. A machine or contrivance designed to communicate, compute or control in relation to a job.

Autonomous Organisations

An autonomous organisation, a term designating a new category of organisational arrangements in Indian administration, is among the institutional innovations of the modern government in India. Created by the government through conscious high-level decision, this category has not been opted for as a core part of the machinery of government: they hang over the periphery of the administrative mainstream. These

organisations are chiefly engaged in staff activities such as research, training, consultancy, etc., the chief motivation underlying their establishment being to endow them with operational freedom thus shielding them from day-to-day interference of the government. They get their funds from the sponsoring ministry and their chief personnel too are appointed by the government. Not unoften, they are set up under the Societies Registration Act, 1860. They fall outside the categories of ministries, departments, attached offices, subordinate offices, and public undertakings. They have been in existence since the colonial times but found a supportive environment in post-independent India: most of the autonomous organisations are less than fifty years old.

The defining trait of an autonomous organisation is its self-governing power though directly established as well as founded by the government. An autonomous organisation is set up by the executive whenever it is felt that certain functions may better be carried out outside the regular governmental set up with a measure of independence and flexibility with no day-to-day interference by the governmental machinery. The dictionary defines 'autonomous' as 'self-governing'. An example of this type of organisations is the Indian Institute of Public Administration set up as a 'society' under the leadership of Government of India. Indian Council of Agricultural Research, Indian Institute of Foreign Trade, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Indian Council of Cultural Relations, National Institute of Financial Management, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, All India Institute of Medical Sciences, Indian Council of Philosophical Research, National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development and Film and Television Institute of India are among the other autonomous organisations in India. Below is given a randomly prepared list of 100 autonomous organisations out of nearly 500 presently in existence.

1. Indian Council of Agricultural Research
2. National Cooperative Union of India
3. Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics, Kolkata
4. Indian Institute of Foreign Trade
5. Indian Institute of Packing
6. Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library
7. Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts
8. Khuda Bux Oriental Library, Patna
9. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies

10. National School of Drama
11. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
12. Sangeet Natak Academy
13. Indian Institute of Forest Management, Bhopal
14. Wildlife Institute of India
15. Indian Council for Cultural Relations
16. Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations
17. Indian Society of International Law
18. Indian Council of World Affairs
19. National Institute of Financial Management
20. National Institute of Public Finance and Policy
21. Economic Research Institutes
22. Indian Investment Centre
23. All India Institute of Medical Sciences
24. International Institute of Population Sciences, Mumbai
25. Kendriya Hindi Siksha Mandal, Agra
26. National Council for Promotion of Urdu Language
27. University Grants Commission
28. Aligarh Muslim University
29. Assam University, Shillong
30. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar University, Lucknow
31. Banaras Hindu University
32. Central Agricultural University, Imphal
33. Central University Pondichery
34. Delhi University
35. Dr Zakhir Hussain Memorial College
36. Indira Gandhi National Open University
37. Indian Council of Historical Research
38. Indian Council of Social Science Research
39. Indian Council of Philosophical Research
40. Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla
41. Indian Institute of Information Technology
42. Indian Institute of Management, Bangalore
43. Indian Institute of Management, Kolkata
44. Indian Institute of Management, Lucknow
45. Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore
46. Indian Institute of Technology, Chennai
47. Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi
48. Indian Institute of Technology, Guwahati
49. Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur
50. Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur
51. Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai
52. Jamia Milia Islamia
53. Jawaharlal Nehru University

54. Laxmi Bai National Institute of Physical Education
55. LBS Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth
56. Maulana Azad College of Technology, Bhopal
57. Nagaland University, Kohima
58. National Book Trust
59. National Commission of Women
60. National Council of Education Research and Training
61. National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development
62. Nehru Yuva Kendra Sangathan
63. National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration
64. North Eastern Hill University, Shillong
65. Rajiv Gandhi National Institute of Youth Development
66. School of Planning and Architecture
67. Sports Authority of India
68. University of Hyderabad
69. Vishwa Bharati University, Shanti Niketan
70. Central Pulp and Paper Institute
71. National Institute of Design
72. National Productivity Council
73. Quality Council of India
74. Indian Institute of Mass Communication
75. Satyajit Ray Film and Television Institute, Kolkata
76. National Centre for Software Technology
77. V.V. Giri National Institute of Labour
78. National Labour Institute, Noida
79. Indian Law Institute
80. Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies
81. International Centre for Alternative Dispute Resolution
82. Indian Statistical Institute
83. Institute of Applied Manpower Research
84. CAPART
85. National Institute of Rural Development, Hyderabad
86. National Commission for Minorities
87. National Commission for Safaikaramcharis
88. National Commission for SCs/STs
89. Dr B.R. Ambedkar Foundation, New Delhi
90. Maulana Azad Education Foundation, New Delhi
91. Khadi and Village Industries Mumbai
92. Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi
93. Indian Science Congress Association, Kolkata
94. Institute of Fashion Technology
95. Indian Institute of Tourism and Hotel Management
96. Institute of Hotel Management

NARAYAN RAO MELG..RI
National Law School
037569
BANGALORE

97. National Institute of Urban Affairs
98. National Institute of Hydrology
99. National Academy of Sciences
100. National Institute of Immunology

Legally, autonomous organisations are not government agencies although they are subject to government control and they get their funds, fully or substantially from the government. But they may not be equated with non-governmental organisations or NGOs. The chief inspiration for the setting up of an autonomous organisation comes from the government: the latter is its sponsor, and sustainer; even its top-management personnel may be on deputation from the regular government services being thus the choice of the government. As said earlier, autonomous organisations constitute an unplanned, haphazard growth. They find no mention in the allocation of business rules promulgamated by the Government of India. Even the transaction of business rules restrictively circulated among the top management in the Government of India is absolutely silent on the establishment of these organisations. These bodies are taken cognisance of in the General Financial Rules which have been in existence since the colonial days in India and which are issued by the Ministry of Finance. The rules relate to sanction of grants-in-aid to such autonomous organisations and the various terms and conditions which should govern such grants-in-aid as also the procedure for monitoring the proper utilisation of such. The rise of autonomous organisations are arbitrary in India, following no one plan, observing no single framework. They may be statutory in origin, established by a legislation passed by Parliament. They may be set up under a decision of the cabinet or even of Parliament. Their sources could be a decision by the minister at his own level, a resolution by the executive or under an official notification. They are known by a variety of names such as commission, council, institute, centre, society, board, school, academy, authority, etc. The prevalence of a wide variety of nomenclatures is itself indicative of their unplanned emergence. These bodies have been set up piecemeal with no philosophy underpinning them. The Government of India has no complete catalogue of autonomous organisations. Yet, it is claimed that autonomous organisations in the Government of India easily numbered 500 in the year 2000 with no indication of any of them being removed following the policy of liberalisation

and market economy in 1991. According to the Expenditure Reforms Commission these bodies numbered 496 in the year 2000 and their total budgetary outlay was over Rs 10,000 crore per year. Each ministry, today, has some autonomous organisations under it but the bulk of them have been set up by the following thirteen ministries:

Ministry	*Number of Autonomous Organisations*
1. Human Resource Development	114
2. Health and Family Welfare	49
3. Science and Technology	29
4. Culture	26
5. Surface Transport	22
6. Social Justice and Empowerment	19
7. Small Scale Industries	17
8. Labour	15
9. Information Technology	14
10. Industry	13
11. Textile	16
12. Commerce	11
13. Agriculture	10

The budget of the autonomous organisations is as a rule met by the sponsoring ministry of the government, either fully or substantially. Because the government is the begetter, the funds needed by it are necessarily met by the government and in full, at least in the initial years of its creation. Even when such an organisation starts earning, it can at best meet only a small part of the total budget, the remaining part flowing from the government.

As the finances of autonomous organisations come from the public exchequer they find themselves placed under an obligation to explain how they spend it. They are subject to audit by the comptroller and auditor-general of India. In respect of recurring grants, the administrative ministry concerned should examine the annual audited statement of accounts of grantee institutions and obtain utilisation certificates, to satisfy itself about the proper utilisation of grants for the preceding year before admitting their claim for grants in the subsequent financial year. Such utilisation certificates are required to be furnished by the ministries to the controller of accounts to ensure that the grants had been properly utilised for the purpose for which they were sanctioned.

Today, autonomous organisations in the central government as said earlier, number nearly 500 and this number is on the increase. They spend a huge amount of Rs 10,000 crore every year. A need, thus, exists to rationalise the procedure for setting

up such autonomous organisations, the manner and extent of their financing and also whether the circumstances and purpose for which such organisations were originally set up still exist and justify their continuance. It should also be seen whether a case exists to progressively reduce the present level of heavy budgetary support.

Autonomous organisations con- stitute an agonisingly under-researched area of Indian administration. Whatever is discussed in the following is taken from the audit reports prepared by the comptroller and auditor-general of India (CAG). The financial management in a large number of autonomous organisations is disturbingly weak and lax. The accounts of a large number of them have been either delayed or have not been furnished for audit. One must here note that not all autonomous organisations are presently subject to the CAG's audit while a sound policy should demand compulsory audit.

As at present, accounts of these bodies are not finalised in time and are delayed. What is more, a number of organisations whose annual accounts are delayed or are not finalised is increasing. At the same time, the amount of grants to them is showing an increase over the years. The CAG's audit reports have made strong adverse comments regarding the delay or non-receipt of utilisation certificates, also huge tendencies involving massive amount of grants-in-aid. Yet, the sponsoring ministries continue to release grants to such organisations without seeking to ensure that the previous grants have actually been utilised for the purpose for which they were sanctioned. The position is all the more unsatisfactory, as in a large number of cases, the accounts had either not been finalised or were delayed. The alarmingly high number of pending utilisation certificates, involving huge amounts, as indicated above, has also attracted critical public attention. The sanction of grants to most autonomous organisations takes place in a routine fashion year by year. Besides, a large number of autonomous organisations are engaged in staff activities but a bulk of their employees are concentrated in class III and IV categories, i.e. are clerical and lower-category workers, indicative of a wrong approach to staffing.

The field of autonomous organisations bears marks of ad hocism and as such no uniformity of approach is discerned. They are set up without caring to find out if other institutions already in existence are engaged in the same or

similar task. Overlapping and duplication are not uncommon. An autonomous organisation is hardly subject to a serious probe to determine if it has outlived its utility: incrementalism characterises the governmental approach to these organisations. There is no peer evaluation either, nor are memoranda of understanding signed between the ministry and the autonomous organisation.

B

Baboo

A term of respect but in government offices it is a term used for 'a native clerk who writes English'. It stands for a clerk in government. It is a derogatory term generally used for a superficially cultured Bengali.

Backbencher

The term originated in the British House of Commons where the members of the government and the opposition leadership sit on the front benches, called the treasury benches, on opposite sides; it refers to a legislator not included in this category. It is not often used in India and is more a journalistic term which refers to members of parliament who are not prominent participants in the day-to-day proceedings of parliament. A backbencher is used to refer to a private member who does not hold any ministerial office or figure in the inner councils of the party in opposition.

Backdoor Spending

A phenomenon peculiar to the U.S. The term is a pejorative one. Here, the U.S. Congress, the budget-granting authority, is denied the opportunity to review what is really uncontrollable expenditure. Backdoor spending is defined as any budget authority which is provided 'other than through the Appropriations Committee (U.S.A.) or (where) in substance, the decision is not made by the Appropriations Committees'. The U.S. Joint Study Committee estimated that nearly half of all federal expenditures were made without scrutiny. All this is backdoor spending, its principal forms being permanent appropriations, borrowing authority and contract authority. These are the prime evaders of budgetary review. An example in India close to America's backdoor spending is the constitutional provision for 'charged' public expenditure allowed in the case of some constitutional authorities.

Bernstein, Samuel J. and Patrick O'Hara: *Public Administration: Organisations, People and Public Policy*, New York, Harper and Row, 1979.

Backlash

This term has entered the vocabulary of public administration since the Second World War. It is

an adverse or antagonistic reaction against a public policy or decision.

Backward Classes

Recognised by the Constitution of India for their backwardness and entitled to remedial treatment, the backward classes are practically defined in terms of caste membership. The term refers to socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of a state government, the exact classification of which is left to the state. The state can provide for the reservation of posts if these classes are not adequately represented in its services. The Constitution of India provides for the establishment of the Backward Class Commission to investigate their conditions of service and recommend measures to improve them.

Badshah

Mughal emperor. The term is of Persian origin.

Bakshi

Paymaster, commander during the Mughal rule.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)

It literally means 'a party of society's majority'. Led by Kanshi Ram, the BSP first contested the parliamentary election in 1989. It draws its following from among the Muslims, backward classes and lower castes.

Bairagies

Hindu devotees, votaries of Lord Vishnu.

Bandh

Protest through a general strike or closure of shops and offices.

Bar Chart

A technique employed in the planning and control of an activity. First developed by Henry Gantt (1861–1919), an American engineer and colleague of Frederick Winslow Taylor, a Gantt chart shows the progress of a project over time to compare the actual performance with the scheduled performance.

Bar of the House

The place inside the Lok Sabha where the person who commits a breach of priviledge or contempt of House is summoned for admonition or reprimand. The Bar in the Lok Sabha consists of a wooden bar placed between two pillars near the door which opens into the central aisle facing the speaker and which connects the benches on either side of the aisle. Before the offender is ushered into the Lok Sabha, the speaker makes an announcement about it and asks the members to keep silence in respect for the dignity

and authority of parliament and to emphasise the significance to the offender. He (the offender) stands at the Bar. The speaker reads out the reprimand after which he asks the offender to step down.

Batta

Allowance, subsistence.

Begari

Forced labour which was resorted to by landowners, government officers and armies on the march during the British rule. It was statutorily abolished under the Constitution.

Behavioural Sciences

The recognised behavioural sciences are psychology, sociology and social anthropology. A part of political science is also included—the part that deals with political and voting behaviour. The behavioural sciences study the behaviour of people in their physical and social environment. The methods of study employed are experimentation and observation in the manner of the natural sciences.

Benchmark data

Data collected for the first time and used as a point of reference.

Benchmarking

The dictionary defines 'benchmark' as a permanent reference mark fixed in the ground for use in surveys, tidal observations, etc.; 'a reference point serving as a standard for comparing or judging other things'. Benchmark is thus a standard of excellence, achievement, etc., against which similar things must be measured or judged; it means a standard or reference by which others can be measured or judged. It is used as a point of reference for comparison or measurement purposes. Benchmarking is performance measurement. The term is taken from surveyors. It, thus, had its origins outside the field of public administration but has been appropriated by it since the seventies.

It has now become a standard term used to measure performance and result-based management. It is a part of New Public Management. Traditionally, performance measurement and comparison had not evoked serious interest in public administration, the pet argument being 'we are so unique'. Resistance, thus, marked attempts at performance measurement including inter-governmental performance comparison. Today, the case for benchmarking is better understood.

In public administration, benchmarking as it has evolved has branched into three broad forms. One is very analytic and is a direct adaptation of a corporate

version. David N. Ammons lists the following steps involved in corporate-style benchmarking:

1. Decide what process to benchmark.
2. Study the process in the organisation.
3. Identify benchmarking partners.
4. Analyse the processes of benchmarking partners to identify differences that account for superior performance.
5. Adopt and implement 'best practices'.
6. Monitor and revise.

The second variety of benchmarking is broader in sweep. It articulates a vision for a state or community and fixes targets to mark progress towards that vision. This form is more a strategic planning than corporate-style benchmarking. The third form, in public administration, attempts the comparison of performance statistics in one's organisation to appropriate external 'pegs', the pegs being the professional standards, performance targets. Whatever the form adopted, the success demands public officials who possess technical knowledge as well as a proper frame of mind.

In the U.S.A., benchmarking received an impetus under the Congressional legislation of 1993, namely the Government and Performance and Results Act. The pioneers in the benchmarking movement in the U.S.A. are Motorola, IBM, AT&T, Alcoa, DEG Miliken and Xerox Corporation: The Indian ground-level situation does not show any movement in this direction. Regular monitoring of performance standards paves the way for superior performance. Benchmarking is a powerful technique of promoting performance measurement and result-oriented management. But it is not easy to develop effective performance standards largely because of insufficient institutional capacity to develop mechanisms to monitor performance information.

The term has become fashionable in business administration. It refers to the compilation of the best practices in another organisation followed by their analysis and adoption. Benchmarking is common in competitive situations.

Xerox Corporation, a leading private sector organisation in the world, defines benchmarking as 'a continuous, systematic process of evaluating companies recognised as industry leaders, to determine business and work processes that represent "best practices" and establish rational performance goals.'[1] Benchmarking prompts organisations to reach for higher competitive levels and become market leaders. The essence of benchmarking truly lies in

practice. The standards of practice must be, as in the Olympics, continuously enhanced to achieve higher customer satisfaction and consequently business/organisational performance. Benchmarking is necessarily linked with total quality management.

The advantages of benchmarking could be several:

1. Benchmarking introduces newness and innovative ways of organising operations.
2. It is an effective team-building tool.
3. It increases awareness of costs and performance of products and services in relation to those of competitor organisations.
4. It is a powerful methodology for developing winning strategies.
5. It brings together the various wings and divisions of an organisation and thus, helps to develop a common unified front for facing competition.
6. It highlights the importance of employee involvement and thus promotes individual and team effort.

David N. Ammons: 'A Proper Mentality for Benchmarking' in *Public Administration Review*, vol. 59, no. 2, March/April 1999, pp. 105–9.

[1]Mohamed Zairi: *Effective Management of Benchmarking Projects*, Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann, 1998, p. 14.

Bencollen

Bencollen, a British settlement located in Sumatra, now in Indonesia was under the rule of the East India Company. The Regulating Act of 1773, which created the basic structure of public administration in India, explicitly mentions Bencollen being under the governance of the East India Company through which Britain ruled it from 1685–1824 when the settlement was handed over to Holland in exchange for Malacca under the Treaty of London. The British had built a factory at Bencollen in 1714, called Fort Marborough.

Bhadralok

The term 'bhadralok' literally means respectable people. The term referred to the gentry of late nineteenth and early twentieth century of Bengal—the Bengali elite of the British Raj.

Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP)

The BJP was formed from the Janata Party when the latter split in 1979. It is a ruling party in a few states and a leading coalitional partner in the central government.

Bhumiputra

Bhumiputra is a Malaysian term though of Sanskrit origin, literally meaning 'sons of the soil'. It is a discriminatory policy,

making a distinction between categories of citizens. It is applied exclusively to the Malays though not to the *organ asli*, the aborigines, who settled here earlier than the Malays. As Malaysia is a multi-racial society comprising Malays as well as people of Chinese origin and of Indian origin, the indigenous people might be ousted from the political, economic and social life of their own country. This fear was particularly growing since the racial riots of 1969. In 1970, the New Economic Policy was initiated in the country tilting the balance of economic advantage in favour of the Malays or (Bhumiputras). Under this policy a growing Malay middle class has emerged in the country. In Indonesia the equivalent term is *Pribhumi*.

Biennial Budgeting

Budgeting for a two-year period as opposed to a one-year period. Most states including India budget for a one-year period, but some state and local governments in the U.S.A. have a biennial budget. Thirty-one state governments in the U.S. have annual budgeting whereas biennial budgeting has been adopted by nineteen.

The major budgetary activities are executive submission, legislative consideration and appropriations authorisation.

Bill of Rights

The 1689 Bill of Rights refers to a constitutional enactment in the United Kingdom, consolidating the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Viewed as fundamentally important, the Bill of Rights asserted the liberties and rights of the nation, and settled the succession. A Bill of Rights was incorporated in the U.S. Constitution in 1791—just two years after its adoption. More commonly, the Bill of Rights refers to the first ten amendments added to the U.S. Constitution in 1789. They guarantee substantive and procedural rights to the citizens and protect them from arbitrary governmental action. Through formal amendments, the Bill of Rights was a part of the constitution-making process in the U.S. The Bill of Rights, corresponds to the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution of India.

Bio-terrorism

A technique of modern terrorism. The use of biological weapons like those used to spread the anthrax virus for striking terror and panic in the target population to secure the intended goal.

Black Box

'Black box' is an engineering term. It refers to any sealed device whose internal workings are inaccessible. Black box refers to

the decision-making institutions of government into which inputs are fed and from which outputs flow. Used in David Easton's input-output analysis or systems analysis.

Black Economy

An economic activity where tax is evaded or dodged. No written record is maintained of such an activity, the intention being to evade taxes. The defining characteristic of a black economy is non-declaration of earnings. Many economic activities are conducted outside fiscal control and formal market structures such as hawking, street-trading, small-scale production (commonly known as the informal economy). India has a thriving black economy though no correct estimate of its size is available. It is sometimes referred to as a parallel economy. The term emerged in the seventies when it was discovered that undeclared money accounted for an increasing proportion of the national income.

Black Market

Refers to the practice of buying or selling of commodities above legally prescribed prices or beyond the legally allotted amount to a customer. This kind of trading becomes common during times of scarcity when the demand exceeds the supply. Black marketing generates black money.

Blacksburg Manifesto

The Blacksburg Manifesto traces its origin to 1983 when the faculty of Virginia Tech's Centre for Public Administration jointly wrote a paper that has come to be known as the Blacksburg Manifesto. Its authors, Gary Wambsley, Charles Goodsells, John Rohr, Orion White and Jim Wolf joined hands to discuss the contemporary conditions confronting public administration under the Carter and Reagan administrations in the U.S.A. The result of these discussions was the Blacksburg Manifesto. The Blacksburg Manifesto is context-specific and discusses the competency and legitimacy of American public administration. It argues that the legitimacy of public administration is grounded in the United States Constitution.

The Blacksburg Manifesto thus, grew out of its authors' deliberations in 1982. The authors in their *Manifesto* shared the philosophy of traditionalists such as Paul Appleby, Dwight Waldo, Norton Long, Phillip Selznick, etc. The Blacksburg Manifesto develops a normative view of public administration and its authoritative version is given in *Regrounding Public Administration* (Wamsley et al 1990). It plants public administration into the normative concepts of governance and constitutionalism and argues

that such a regrounding is apt to discover the legitimate role of public administration in matters of governance. The Blacksburg Manifesto thus releases public administration from the stifling hold of behaviouralism and positivism. The Minnowbrook perspective overlooks the institutional base of public administration, which the manifesto fills up. The manifesto visualises public administration as part of the policy process and it is engaged in a search for public interest.

The Blacksburg Manifesto is an example of high modernism. It goes beyond the functionalist paradigm and presents a postmodern perspective.

Blau Typology

This classification of formal organisation was developed by the American sociologist Peter Blau, the criteria he followed being 'who benefits'. He distinguished four classes of organisations:

1. Mutual-benefit organisations, such as clubs and political parties,
2. Business firms, such as banks and shops,
3. Service organisations, such as hospitals and schools, and
4. Commonwealth organisations, such as fire and police services.

Block Grant

Block Grant is the provision of resources by the central government to support a broad policy field in the lower state government.

Blocked Through Puts

A policy-making process in which effective inputs and outputs may be illegal, even immoral, and formal policy has little relation to these effective inputs and outputs. A common feature of prismatic society.

Blue-Collar Worker

A person who does manual work. The blue-collar workers' category includes skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

Boards

The term 'Board' seems to be used when an organisation is charged with important duties of an administrative nature or where, if regulatory in character, they relate to matters other than public utilities. During the presidency of Woodrow Wilson the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Land Bank Boards were created in the United States. The U.P. Board of High School and Intermediate Education is another example.

Board of Revenue

The Board of Revenue was first established in Bengal by the East India Company in 1786. It

was originally charged with the administration of land revenue. Gradually, other kinds of revenue were also brought within its charge. Thus, the Board of Revenue was the supreme collector of revenue in the province. Not all Boards of Revenue performed this role and function. In ryotwari provinces, the system of land revenue administration was more onerous than in zamindari provinces like Bengal. The periodic revision of assessments, the minute registration of proprietary, cultivating and occupancy rights gave the Board of Revenue in Madras and in the North Western Provinces (present-day Uttar Pradesh) greater prestige and power than the one at Calcutta.

Booth Capturing

The practice of forcing polling station officials to acquiesce to irregularities during voting such as ballot box stuffing.

Boren's Testimony

Dr James H. Boren, who had at one time worked in the United States Agency for International Development, is known for making fun of administrative behaviour. He is the author of the famous parodical lines:

When in charge, ponder
When in trouble, delegate;
When in doubt, mumble.

He coined such vivid expressions as 'dynamic inactivism', 'policy thwartation', etc.

Brain Drain

Brain drain refers to the phenomenon of international migration of educated and skilled professionals from less developed to more developed countries.

Brainstorming

A technique used as a means of finding solutions to various problems arising in an organisation. It is a means of obtaining ideas no matter how fantastic or impossible these may sound. Brainstorming is a conference technique of solving specific problems by stimulating creative thinking and developing new ideas. The emphasis in brain-storming is on unrestrained and spontaneous participation in discussion. The technique was first developed by Alex Osborne in his work *Applied Imagination* (1957).

Brain Trust

The term 'Brain Trust' was first used by James M. Kieran of the *New York Times* for the advisers of the U.S. president, Franklin D. Roosevelt in his election campaign. The term caught on and was applied to the group of professors advising him in his New Deal. The term travelled to

Great Britain where it was used for a popular BBC programme.

Branding

It is a stamp or a trademark. Branding began with the practice of placing an identification mark on an animal, usually by burning with hot irons. In modern industrial society, branding means giving goods and services a distinctive identity. Philip Kotler, a reputed management expert, defined a brand thus: 'A name, term, symbol or design which is intended to signify the goods or services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of the competitors.' Branding claims many advantages. It is a loud status symbol: those who patronise a particular brand are perceived to be an exclusive group, distinct from others in the society. Regardless of this, a brand serves one useful purpose: it assures consumers about the quality of the product. The brand which sells the most is called the brand leader.

Bribery

The offering of any gift or emoluments to influence public or official action.

Budget

The budget refers to the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government of India. It is known as the annual financial statement. The budget is presented in two parts, viz., the railway budget dealing with railway finances and the general budget reviewing the financial position of the Government of India. By convention, the general budget is presented on the last day of February each year at 5 pm (since 2000 at 10 am) and the railway budget in the third week of February. At the same time of their being presented in the Lok Sabha, a copy each of the two budgets is laid on the table of the Rajya Sabha. In the election year the budget is presented twice —the first to seek a vote on account and then the full-fledged budget. The railway budget is presented by the railway minister and the general budget by the finance minister.

Budgeters

The maker or compiler of a budget.

Budget Maximising Bureaucrat

It refers to a senior governmental officer whose interest lies in expanding the budget of his organisation. The term was first used by William Niskanen in 1971 and is applicable mostly in the U.S.A.

Budget Periodicity

The optimal budget periodicity is a question worthy of discussion

in financial administration. The budget period should be reasonably short to keep it responsive to the prevailing political situation and economic condition in the country. At the same time, it should not be too short a period. In such a situation, the budget makers would remain continually busy with their task. In other words, the budget periodicity should be long enough to permit continuity in policy implementation. Monthly budgets would be unwieldy and repetitive although this would involve total control over spending. The other extreme could be a five-year budget, the normal term of the legislature. Such a budget would be inflexible and unable to take account of shifting political priorities. The choice should lie between annual and biennial budgets. The annual budget is more flexible and is better fitted to cope with economic and political fluctuations.

The Budget Year

Budget Year refers to the financial year which in India commences on 1 April and ends on 31 March of the following year. The present financial year was first adopted in India in 1860. Being a colony of Great Britain, the British financial year was introduced in India. The budget year, also called financial year, did not take into account India's peculiar conditions and requirements. India is an agricultural country and the economic conditions in India are determined by the annual rainfall. This is true even today, when the country has completed, more or less successfully, nine five-year plans. This is why the Indian budget is often called 'a gamble in the rains'. The process of budget making begins more than eight or nine months before the commencement of the monsoon and as such it cannot be prepared on the basis of ground-level realities. A demand is therefore, being made to shift the financial year from April–March to July–June or September–August so that the budget reflects the monsoon position in the country. There are other weaknesses of the present financial year. Under the present arrangement, expenditure sanctions reach the executive agencies when the monsoon has already set in. As such, constructional activities cannot be taken up and have to wait for the end of the monsoon. The commencement of the financial year on 1 April thus hampers the speed of work on various projects. The resultant delayed execution of public works causes concentration of public expenditure towards the end of the financial year. This is a wasteful expenditure. There is, thus, some logic in a suitable amendment of the financial year.

But the proposed change would entail enormous recasting of administrative structure including accounting procedures which stalls a change. One should note that the budget is prepared for one year though there is no law that says that the budget should be presented annually. The annuality is governed only by administrative convenience. The financial year begins on different dates in different countries. It is April–March in India, Great Britain and most of the commonwealth countries, July–June in the U.S.A. and January–December in France.

Bundobust

A revenue settlement.

Bureaucracy

The term bureaucracy first originated in France and was invented by Vincent de Gournay some time in the eighteenth century: called a fourth form of government, he first named it bureaucratie. Gournay took the word 'cracy' (a Latin word) from 'democracy' and added it after the French word 'bureau', meaning 'a place where officials work', which was used in a pejorative sense. The term referred to the new group of officers or rulers and new method of government in which governing had become an end in itself. In bureaucracy, the appointment of officers, clerks, inspectors was not to the benefit of public interest. Far from it. The public interest had been invented so that these positions might exist. In 1850, Thomas Carlyle called it a 'continental nuisance', naively believing that England was free from it, which was not true. The term carries more than one meaning. It has emotive overtones, it is used in the pejorative sense. It is a synonym for civil service; sometimes bureaucracy may mean a sum up of the specific features of modern organisational structure. The term suffers from a multiplicity of definitions. But two definitions stand out more prominently:

1. rule by officials;
2. bureaucracy as a particular form of government.

Max Weber—his full name was Karl Emil Maxmillan Weber (1864–1920)—rescued bureaucracy from its negative image. His analysis of bureaucracy is contained in his colossal work *Economy and Society*, published posthumously in 1921 in which he propounds a theory of social change, tracing the evolution of western civilisation in terms of its evolving rationality. He delineates the characteristics which distinguish the modern industrial society from preceding other forms of social organisation. Different stages of social development have necessarily different modes of

authority or domination. Weber is of the view that every system of domination or authority in the society establishes a belief in its own legitimacy. Three bases of domination correspond with three different stages of social development: charismatic, traditional and rational-legal. The first type of authority is legitimised by charisma—the qualities and character of an individual. Charisma is the quality of a person which gives rise to one category of legitimate authority. According to Weber, 'by charisma is to be understood the quality of a personality, held to be out of the ordinary (originally thought to have magical sources, both in the case of prophets and men who are wise in healing or in law, the heroes in war), on account of which the person is evaluated as being gifted with super-natural or super-human at least specifically out of the ordinary powers not accessible to everybody, and hence as a leader'. According to Weber, the evaluation is specifically that of the person's followers and does not necessarily implicate the user of the term. Weber saw charisma as transitional. He obviously had a revolutionary leader in mind. The charismatic leader is gifted with supernatural or superhuman powers not accessible to everybody. Charismatic rule will either revert to traditional rule or it will become 'routinised' and change into legal-rational authority. The traditional authority, which is the second type, is exemplified by the dynastic state and often, will have religious associations. Rational legal or procedural authority is legitimised by rules and constitutional procedures and is exemplified by democracy. The three types of legitimate authority are explained in the following table:

Three Pure Types of Legitimate Authority

Base on	*Resting on*
Charisma	Devotion to special sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual.
Tradition	Established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions
Rationality	Belief in the legality of patterns of rules

An important point is that in the real world Weber expected a combination of these types. The typology has an implicit theory of development here. Weber expected the world to move towards greater rationality. Weber's ideal type is an 'identikit' of a concept, a list of features which an ideal instance would possess. Weberian attributes of an ideal type of bureaucracy are formal hierarchy; functional specialisation; rules and regulations; and clearly

defined official roles. The elaborated parts emphasised notions such as

1. unity of command,
2. span of control,
3. separation of line and staff functions,
4. organisational career.

All these attributes stress the internal functioning of organisation. Weber constructs an ideal model type of each form of authority. An ideal type is an analytical construct which may accentuate for particular purposes certain empirically identifiable features. It claims an explanatory value: it links together certain traits to form a pure type. A pure type, one must note, can never present an empirical reality. It is like the 'free market' of the economists.

The defining characteristics of rational-legal domination—the bureaucracy—are:

1. Rule-bound conduct of official business.
2. A specified sphere of competence (jurisdiction).
3. The personnel are organised into a clearly defined hierarchy of offices.
4. Rules, the basis of bureaucracy, are technical ones, which require specialised training for their application. This means that only a person who has acquired technical training is qualified for appointment as a member of the bureaucracy. Officials are thus appointed, not elected. They are appointed on the basis of merit.
5. Members of the bureaucracy are completely separated from the ownership of the means of production or administration. Officials do not own the non-human means of administration. The latter are provided for the officials' use and are not their personal property. Similarly, the place where official functions are carried out—called the office—is separated from the living quarters.
6. In a bureaucracy there is a complete absence of appropriation of his official position by the incumbent.
7. Bureaucracy is a *kagazi sarkar*. Administrative acts, decisions, rules, etc., are formulated and given in writing. Necessity for written rules and orders constitutes 'the office' or bureau, which is the focus of all administrative action.

Bureaucracy is thus a special kind of organisation characterised by:

1. Its hierarchical relationships culminating in one boss at the top.
2. Prevalence of written rules and regulations.
3. Its relative isolation from outside evaluation or 'feedback'.

4. Hiring and promoting staff, and dividing work based on specialisation and technical competence.
5. Adherence to the strict rules of rationality.
6. Its dependent membership (that is, its members depend on it for their livelihood).

These attributes signify the prevalence of certain principles of bureaucracy. These are:

1. *Principle of specialisation*
   Each office has a clearly defined sphere of competence in the legal sense.
2. *Principle of hierarchy*
   Personnel are organised into a clearly defined hierarchy of offices.
3. *Principle of primacy of rule*
   An official is subject to the discipline and control in the conduct of his office.
4. *Principle of impersonality*
   The official works in an organisation but does not own the means of administration nor does he appropriate his position.
5. *Principle of appointed officials*
   The mode of selection of officials is appointment based on merit. The technical qualification of the person is tested through a competitive examination.
6. *Principle of full time officials*
   The office is the sole or primary occupation of the incumbent.
7. *Principle of work by career officials*
   The job constitutes a career. There is a system of promotion, according to seniority or merit or both. Promotion is dependent on the judgment of superiors.

Bureaucracy bears the above-mentioned characteristics which makes it relentless. Its virtues are rationalisation, technical specialisation and training. The advance of bureaucratisation thus cannot be stopped. Max Weber enumerates the economies inherent in the bureaucratic form of organisation: 'Precision, speed, unambiguity, knowledge of the files, continuity, direction, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs—these are raised to the optimum point in the strictly bureaucratic administration, trained bureaucracy is superior on all these points and as far as complicated tasks are concerned, paid bureaucratic work is not only more precise but, in the last analysis, is even cheaper than even formally remunerated honorific service.'[1] Equally, bureaucracy is a potent mechanism of social control. Bureaucracy's social power flows from its ability to administer power in ways that are both efficient and legitimate.

Bureaucracy is the preferred method of control in the society because by its very definition it steers clear of violent and coercive methods for organising human affairs. Bureaucratic authority is based on official duties; authority is bounded by rules. Bureaucratic decisions are legitimate decisions. The technology of subjection thus induces compliance with the bureaucratic authority. The technology of subjection gets reinforcement from the following three factors:

1. The policies in the bureaucratic organisation are impersonal and are not instigated to enhance the personal welfare of those making the decisions.
2. Tyranny is prevented because there are definite limits to the ability of bureaucratic rules.
3. Those who make decisions in bureaucracy possess superior knowledge and understanding of the problems.

Bureaucracy, Weber contends, overtakes all organisations in the course of time including even out-of-the run organisations like political parties. The latter form of organisation inevitably becomes bureaucratic as the techniques of electoral struggle become increasingly rationalised. When parties seek amalgamation, they face difficulties. In Weber's words, 'the difficulties of amalgamating parties also stem more from the mutual hostilities between the bureaucratic apparatuses of the parties than from differences in their programmes.'[2] The test of bureaucracy is this: '... in the administration of mass associations the permanently appointed officials with specialist training always form the core of the apparatus, and its 'discipline' is an absolute prerequisite of success' (p. 154).

Any respectable discussion of bureaucracy is considered superficial, even unacademic if one does not first pay homage to Max Weber. The earliest theory of bureaucracy came from sociology—from the scribblings of Max Weber. Max Weber portrayed bureaucracy as the selfless implementer of the public policies enacted by the elected government. Weber's bureaucrats were 'neutered eunuchs' as someone used the term for them, to enforce the public policies. This myth of neutrality was exploded, among others, by William A. Niskanen. His views are propounded in his seminal work *Bureaucracy and Representative Government* published in 1971.

Around mid-fifties of the twentieth century, Northcote Parkinson referred to the tendency of the bureaucracy to grow and expand regardless of th

amount of work (Parkinson: *Parkinson's Law and Other Studies in Administration*, New York, Ballantine Books). The Weberian portrait of the bureaucracy as selfless implementer of policies was demolished by Gordon Tullock in his *The Politics of Bureaucracy* (Washington, DC, Public Affairs Press, 1965) and A. Downs in his *Inside Bureaucracy* (1967) published by Little Brown & Co. (Boston). The Weberian theory of neutral enforcer was forever laid to rest by William Niskanen in his 1971 publication *Bureaucracy and Representative Government* in which Niskanen showed that bureaucrats are self-seeking, engaged in augmenting their individual utilities, which implies that they increase their power, income, security, perquisites of office, patronage, and ensure for themselves an easy, comfortable life. Niskanen's work is an important contribution to understand the dynamics of bureaucracy. W.C. Mitchell regards this view as 'the most significant work yet produced by an economist on the role of bureaucracy'. Max Weber has been a pioneering scholar in analysing forms of authority and power. This is linked with his concept of legitimacy where rule is accepted as right and proper by those to whom it is directed. The exercise which is not accepted as such is not legitimate. Therefore, the rulers make attempts to make their rule legitimate but the true indicator is whether the rule is respected by the ruled. People may obey a rule out of sheer fear: hence obedience is not enough. Authority is legitimised power which is an example of his notion of the ideal type. Bureaucracy is inward looking. It overlooks the environment and external relations of organisations, the implied assumption being that the environment is certain, fixed and unchanging. According to Max Weber, inward-looking tendencies are inherent in bureaucracy. He says: 'Every bureaucracy seeks to increase the superiority of the professionally informed by keeping their knowledge and intentions secret ... Insofar as it can, it hides its knowledge and action from criticism.'[3]

Bureaucracy provides certainties, namely expert officials carrying out defined functions, working with a clear chain of command, observance of clear rules and procedures. The modern state stood on the pillar of bureaucracy with its shining attributes of hierarchy, functional specialisation, and service uniformity. Weber was aware of the power of knowledge, which bureaucracy by its very definition possesses. Who translates political will into action? Bureaucracy converts this will into action. It has

the expertise which is deployed for the conversion. Bureaucracy thus controls expertise and information. Politics, obviously, cannot do without bureaucracy which in turn makes politics dependent on it. How to control the bureaucracy is a problem. Bureaucracy over-supplies its services and manipulates the political masters. (Niskanen, 1971, *Bureaucracy and Representative Government*, Aldane).

A critique of Weberian bureaucracy

According to Max Weber, bureaucracy is technically the most efficient form of organisation. At the same time, it must be stated, Max Weber did not feel at ease with the bureaucracy. Bureaucracy, Weber contends, poses a threat to democracy and to individual freedom. This aspect is discussed elsewhere. However, the bureaucratic type of organisation has emerged as the dominant form in the western society during the Industrial Revolution and the most efficient form yet designed by man to dominate man. Its ascendancy is an inescapable fact.

Bureaucracy is a neutral force, embodying the universal interest of the society as a whole and endowed with special political wisdom. This concept of bureaucracy was held by Hegel also. Civil service possesses some special characteristics:—the state alone claims monopoly of the means of violence. According to Weber, bureaucracy is an effective technical instrument. But it has an inherent tendency to exceed its instrumental function and become a heavyweight. It is a separate force within a society, capable of influencing its goals and character. It constitutes a separate power group within the state, usurping the goal-setting function, which properly belongs to the politician and for which it is by training unsuited.

Empirically, bureaucracy exceeds its administrative functions —this is its inherent tendency. It is not merely a technical instrument. It is also a social force with interests and values of its own. Bureaucracy as already asserted is a power group: it influences the goals of the political system. Because it is a status group it influences the values of the society. Also, bureaucracy inevitably reflects the class structure of the society: it shares the outlook of the social classes from which it is recruited and to which it is allied. Bureaucracy is unable to free itself from the class structure of the society: its outlook is conditioned by the outlook of the social classes from which it is recruited.

As already indicated, Max Weber was inclined towards

pessimism about the future of individual freedom in a bureaucracy. He laid emphasis on the need to subordinate bureaucracy to strong political control. Strong political leadership was thus required to restrain the bureaucracy's untameable quest for autonomous power and to reduce its collusion with economic interests. This view, however, got softened with the passage of time. During and after the First World War, Weber became less concerned with liberty than with order and slowly began to regard a strong executive as the source of control. Hitherto, Weber had laid emphasis on a strengthened parliament. In either case his goal was the survival of liberalism against the collectivist drift which he viewed as a threat to liberty. This liberalism, it may be emphasised, included economic individualism and civil and political freedom.

In the post-Weberian world of scholarship on bureaucracy, Max Weber is either the centre of discussion and iteration or the point of departure. It is to the latter that one should turn one's attention. The Weberian Bureaucracy is criticised for being ethnocentric: it is based in the Prussian or West European administration and is plainly parochial, lacking a worldview. In short, it is a culturally specific theory particularly inapplicable to the developing countries. Indeed, Max Weber has been subjected to much extended debate and criticism. Sociologists have highlighted the dysfunctions of bureaucratic rules and goals. Organisational psychologists have focussed on the impact of bureaucratic organisations on people working in them. Robert Merton discloses the unintended consequences of bureaucracy. Bureaucratic rule is ostensibly a mechanism of control and coordination and is thus an aid to the organisation's rationality. But rules lead to unintentional consequences also. These make the bureaucratic behaviour less flexible. When rules become the recipient of emphasis they tend to emerge as the employees' personal goals. They, thus, are no longer simple ways of achieving organisational goals but instead become personal goals. This is 'goal displacement' —that is, the displacement of organisational goals by personal goals—which then leads to organisational ineffectiveness. Philip Selznick also shares Merton's finding and argues that organisational means do end up as ends through goal displacement. (See his *TVA and the Grass Roots*.) According to Selznick, goal displacement occurs because of the need to delegate powers to lower sub-units in the organisation. As an organisation grows, it must

delegate decision-making authority to its lower sub-units. Endowed with authority, these sub-units build up goals of their own, thus obscuring the overall organisational goals. Departmental goals, it must be noted, need not necessarily fulfil organisational goals, the department goals being specific goals of the sub-units. Alvin Gouldner in his work *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* confirms the unintended consequences of control through rules. Rules have the function of defining minimum acceptable behaviour and minimum performance requirements. Unless the organisational goals are internalised by employees as their own goals the consequence would be administrative performance at the minimum levels laid down in the rules. Such a situation calls for action—in the sense that the manager will make an increased effort to control employee behaviour further by promulgating additional rules. Michel Crozier too shows the dysfunctionality of bureaucracy. Centralisation in practice means that decisions must be made by people who have no direct knowledge of the field and of the relevant variables and who must rely on the information given to them by subordinates who may have a subjective interest in distorting the data. Crozier observes: 'In this sense one can state that the power of decision in this system tends to be located in a blind spot. Those who have the necessary information do not have the power to decide, and those who have the power to decide cannot get the necessary information.'[4]

The above mentioned scholars examined the internal working of the bureaucratic organisation but others went beyond. James Thompson (*Organisations in Action*) examined how an organisation's environment plays a role in determining its behaviour. He criticises the bureaucratic model of organisation for its ignoring environment. He is the most prominent scholar relating administrative behaviour to its ecology. One must also point out that two other sociologists, Peter Blau and Wiliam Scott (*Formal Organisations*), did not see goal displacement as inevitable. There may be 'goal succession' in organisations —provided they (that is, organisations) and their units do not feel threatened but feel secure in their relationships.

Public administration is in the midst of change and turbulence since the seventies of the just concluded twentieth century. Even the term 'public administration' has fallen into disfavour and it is 'public sector' which is being used more and more. Another term 'public management' has also

been consciously coined to supersede public administration characterised as it is by delay and red tape: public management connotes a largescale induction of managerialism from the private sector. Max Weber addressed himself to the major questions about the nature of the modern world. In his work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904), he asserted that most entrepreneurs who founded early industrial houses were Calvinists. His *Sociology of Religion* (1921) confirms his interest in the study of religions. His following three books (I) *Economy and Society* (1921), *General Economic History* (1923) and *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation* (1914) seek to provide answers to the major socio-political problems of the modern world. The resultant decline of interest in bureaucracy means that policy-makers are now looking more and more to other sources for ideas on change and advice. Bureaucracy is in a decline everywhere. There is a definite shift. As a result of the decline in the 'Big Government', the bureaucratic model is losing much of its original gloss and other means of control and coordination are gaining importance. New buzzwords and themes are surfacing challenging its traditional views and paradigms. A belief exists that the days of bureaucracy are over, and organisations have entered the post-bureaucratic age. Administrators of the future should be in the nature of managers who are 'change masters' proficient in handling innovations at every level of the organisation. Emphasis is placed on self-managing teams which are to be the basic organisational building blocks. As Paul Thompson and David McHugh write in *Work Organisation: A Critical Organisation* (1995): 'The language (of post-bureaucratic organisations) is dominated by Fs—fast, fat and flexible organisations, and Ds—decentralisation, disaggregation, disorganisation and delayering'. They conclude: 'It adds up to a widely held belief that the days of bureaucracy are over.' Davis Osborne and Ted Gaebler in their *Re-inventing Government* has already suggested an alternative to bureaucracy. Al Gore is another author who has suggested an alternative in his report, *Creating a Government that Works Better and Costs Less* (1993).

In the last leg of the twentieth century and in the twenty-first century, which is now with us, the bureaucratic organisations appear to be fragile, brittle and vulnerable. Bureaucracy is being discovered to be less and less able to ensure an enriched work life for mankind. The new social and technological changes taking

place in the society such as telecommunication, facsimile technology, international computer networks and fairly enlightened workforce—all threaten traditional bureaucratic organisations and call for new arrangements in organisational relationships. Advance in information technology particularly challenges the entire concept of hierarchical authority. How technology forces rethinking on the traditional concept of hierarchy is best explained by David Borry thus: 'one driver is the technological explosion. The logarithmic growth of technology based information has resulted in unprecedented numbers of highly educated, self-motivated, self-directed specialists; most of these workers come to know far more about their work area than their managers.'[5] Hierarchy with its notion of graded authority and status has to come to terms with the rapidly unfolding scenario.

To recap, the term 'bureaucracy' is, derived from Latin and Greek sources. The word, 'bureau' is originally derived from the Latin word 'burrus' meaning a dark and sombre colour. It may be traced to the French word 'la bure', which means a kind of cloth covering for tables, especially those used by public officials. 'Bureau' was originally applied to the covered table and later to the surrounding room or office. The word 'cracy' means the type of rule in Greek. Bureaucracy describes government as rule by officialdom.

The word 'bureaucracy' has a derogatory connotation: it is used to convey objection to the procedures employed in large organisaions—procedures which are regarded as complicated and cumbersome. Harold Laski, the sober political scientist used 'bureaucracy' to refer to a 'system of government the control of which is so completely in the hands of officials that their power jeopardises the liberties of ordinary citizens' (Laski, Harold: 'Bureaucracy' in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, vol. 13, New York, Macmillan, p. 70). But in social sciences the term 'bureaucracy' has a neutral meaning and has attributes identified by the German social scientist, Max Weber (1864–1920).

Max Weber attributed to bureaucracy traits such as (i) hierarchy, (ii) specialisaion, (iii) professional competence, (iv) separation of the office and the incumbent, (v) full-time occupational commitment, (vi) fixed monetary salaries and (vii) written regulations specifying internal relationships and pruderies to be followed in bureaucratic organisation. Its structural characteristics of bureaucracy are fundamentally three, namely:

1. Hierarchy
2. Differentiation or specialisation
3. Competence or qualification.

Weber emphasised the superior capabilities of bureaucracy over other organisational types. Nevertheless, late in his career Weber expressed his fear of the bureaucracy because of its 'over towering' power position. In 1973, Henry Jacoby asserted that bureaucracies are necessary, nevertheless dangerous. The fact is that bureaucracy has a strong potential for the usurpation of power. Modern bureaucracy is the climax of a long process of centralisation and accumulation of power that had begun long ago. In the words of Ferrel Heady, 'contemporary societies simultaneously demand, depend on, and deplore the apparatus of bureaucracy'. He concludes: 'This outlook is basically pessimistic as to future prospects.'

Social scientists like Gouldner, Thomson, Merton, Morstein Marx, M. Crozier, etc. term bureaucracy's typical behaviour as 'dysfunctional', pathological or self-defeating, leading to non-realisation of organisational goals. Its behavioural orientations are red tape, passing the buck, rigidity and inflexibility, over-secretiveness, excessive impersonality, unwillingness to delegate, and reluctance to exercise discretion. These constitute the 'trained incapacity' of the bureaucrats. This is part of the story. It has its wholesome traits also. Bureaucracy manifests objectivity, precision, consistency, which Friedrich considers as 'desirable habit'. Bureaucracy, it must be acknowledged, represents the logical outcome of the rational tradition in the western philosophy. Its unique strength lies in its properties of efficiency where the people at large are the beneficiaries. At the same time, people are the victims of the bureaucratic behaviour so vividly portrayed by successive commentators on the theme.

No modern nation-state can claim to be viable without a career bureaucracy. It is a major institution of the state. Riggs, therefore, rightly emphasises the knowledge of distinctive internal features of national bureaucracies and of the relationship between these bureaucracies and other institutions of the political system.

[1]Weber, Max. 'Bureaucracy' in O. Grusky and G.A. Milles (eds.): *The Sociology of Organisations*, New York, Free Press, 1981, p. 19.

[2]Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs (ed.): *Weber: Political Writings*, 1994, Cambridge University Press, p. 153.

[3]Weber, Max, 'Bureaucracy' in Gerth H. and Mills (ed.): *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, OUP, New York, 1948, p. 233.

[4]Crozier, M.: *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1964 p. 51, environmental uncertainties do make it difficult to predict the behaviour. Fred W. Riggs.

[5]Quoted in Godfrey, Paul C., 'Bureaucracy in the Post Modern World: Problems and Solutions', *International Journal of Public Administration*, vol. 21, no. 5, 1998, p. 692.

Bureaucrat Bashing

It is a slang popular in the United States, and means a blanket attack on government servants, the word 'bureaucrat' being used not in the Weberian sense, but in a pejorative sense: rule-bound, rigid, wasteful, lazy, etc. 'Bureaucrat bashing' is not an old expression, having entered the political vocabulary of the United States in the 1970s.

Bureau of Police Research and Development

Set up in August 1970, the Bureau of Police Research and Development takes up in-depth studies in current policy affairs and thus helps update the technology, training and techniques used by the police system to promote the development of forensic science in the country. The bureau has four divisions: Research and Publications Division, Training Division, Development Division and the Forensic Science Division.

Bureau Pathology

A malady afflicting many governmental organisations undermining their effectiveness in goal attainment. Victor Thompson defines bureau pathology as the administrative behaviour of insecure persons who then seek compensation by using their authority to dominate and control others.

Burra Din

Christmas Day.

Butler

The title applied to the head-servant in an English household during the British rule in India. He generally purchased the daily requirements of the household, was in charge of the domestic stores and supervised the service at the table.

C

Cabinet

Parliamentary government is also described as cabinet government which depicts how centrally important the cabinet is in this form of governance. The cabinet is the inner body within the council of ministers which is responsible for the formulation of policy for the government. The council of ministers, which is the larger body, is collectively responsible to the lower house. It is headed by the prime minister who decides the ministers of cabinet rank and they alone have the right to attend the cabinet meetings. A minister of state may attend the cabinet meetings only on special invitation. The cabinet acts in the name of the council of ministers and exercises all power on its behalf. It chalks out the legislative programme for approval by parliament and ensures coordination in the functioning of various ministries in carrying out the policy of the government. The functions of the cabinet are mainly three according to the Haldane Committee on the Machinery of Government (Great Britain, 1918):

1. determination of policy of the government to be submitted to parliament;
2. the supreme control of the executive; and
3. the coordination of the several departments of the state and delimitation of their authority.

Cabinet Secretariat

The efficiency of the cabinet depends to a large extent on the Cabinet Secretariat whose duty it is to prepare in a meaningful way the agenda of the cabinet meeting, provide information and material necessary for its deliberations, and draw up records of the discussions and decisions both of the cabinet and its committees. It also oversees the implementation of the necessary decisions by the ministries concerned. The Cabinet Secretariat is the successor to the Secretariat of the Executive Council of the Viceroy. Its main function is to prepare the cabinet agenda and its minutes, keep its records, and keep track of the progress made by the departments of government in implementing cabinet decisions. This last function involves the calling of information from various ministries

and departments. It keeps the president, the vice-president and all the ministries informed of the major activities of the government conducted in several ministries by its undertaking the circulation of monthly summaries and brief notes on important matters. It services the committees of secretaries which meet periodically under the chairmanship of the cabinet secretary to consider and advise on problems requiring inter-ministerial consultation and coordination. It finalises the rules of business and allocates the business of the government, of the ministries and departments under the direction of the prime minister and with the approval of the president. In addition, the Cabinet Secretariat supplies secretariat assistance to the cabinet committees. The Cabinet Secretariat has three wings with a total of 500 posts. The head of the Cabinet Secretariat is the cabinet secretary.

Cabinet Secretary

The Cabinet Secretariat, as the name implies, provides the secretariat to the cabinet. It is headed by the cabinet secretary, who sits on the right-hand side of the prime minister at the oval cabinet table. He hears all and speaks only when asked for information. This 'silent' functionary is assisted by many other persons. They are all career civil servants working in the Cabinet Secretariat.

The Cabinet Secretariat, now an important element in the organisation of the central government, was unknown in the nineteenth century. It was a British administrative invention, first set up in that country in 1916 when Lloyd George was the prime minister. Sir Maurice Hankey was the first cabinet secretary.

The Constitution of India is silent about the office of the cabinet secretary as it is on many other matters relating to public administration. But successive administrative reform committees have discussed it in some detail with a view to strengthen it and make the functionary, the conscience-keeper of the civil service of the land. It is a keenly sought office and in the arena are, potentially, all the secretaries to the Government of India. In practice, the contest is restricted to four or five secretaries and a lot of peddling below the surface precedes the formal announcement. The cabinet secretary's post is easily the most prestigious post in the bureaucracy; and even after retirement, the functionary may rightly expect some other high-ranking office, preferably that of a governor or ambassador.

The post acquired importance and recognition with the publication in 1949 of N. Gopalaswami

Ayyangar's Report on the Reorganisation of the Machinery of Government. Gopalaswami Ayyangar realised the true role and place of this functionary in the scheme of governance, and his recommendation was accepted by the Government of India. He recommended that the cabinet secretary should be an administrative officer of the highest rank. He must be selected for his special qualities of tact, energy, initiative and efficiency. He is the head of the Cabinet Secretariat and as such secures coordination between the various departments of the Government of India. Regardless of the particular segment of the civil service from which he emerges, he must command the respect, trust and confidence of all civil servants including all heads of department. He should be an ex-officio chairman of the committee of secretaries set up to advise the prime minister and other ministers on senior appointments.

Since 1950, the cabinet secretary has been regarded as the senior-most civil servant of the land. The Administrative Reforms Commission (1966–70) recommended a tenure of three years, and it was accepted by the government though this convention has not always been observed in practice. The appointment to this post is always news of interest and concern to the entire bureaucratic world constituting as it does the climax of the civil service career.

The cabinet secretary is the head of the Cabinet Secretariat and as such the principal adviser to the prime minister, and the cabinet and its committees. He is the head of the civil service and thus its conscience-keeper. He monitors and coordinates the activities of the various ministries and departments. He is the link between the Prime Minister's Office and various administrative departments. Above all, he is the link between the political world and the civil service. This description of the role of the cabinet secretary presents a rough profile of the functionary though the importance of the position has been somewhat overshadowed by the Prime Minister's Office which is headed by the secretary to the prime minister.

Though an office of key significance to the administrative system today, the office of the cabinet secretary emerged much later in the evolution of Indian public administration. Thoughts about such an office first began when the Government of India Act, 1935, was being processed. Hitherto, the office which existed was that of the PSV—the private secretary to the viceroy. The first public reference to the cabinet office was made on 28 September 1935 about which Mathura

Prasad Mehrotra, an elected member, tabled an interpellation in the then council of state enquiring about the government's views on the opening of a cabinet office in the central government. The government's reply was noncommittal. A question on the cabinet secretary was raised in the Parliament again. The government's reply on it was more positive. It even defined the functions of the office: the cabinet secretary was 'to coordinate the work that comes before the government as a whole and to make and maintain a record of the discussion in the council (that is, cabinet)'. The government further said: 'The main qualification (of the functionary) will be an intimate knowledge of the systems of council and cabinet government and a personality which will make for the smooth working of the new procedure'.

A fear was then expressed that the cabinet secretary would be a kind of super-secretary 'who will report all cabinet proceedings to the viceroy and governor-general with a view to his employing his safeguards effectively'. The government repudiated the criticism asserting that 'the cabinet secretary will be secretary to the executive council'. The cabinet secretary attended the meetings of the executive council and later, of the cabinet. This practice, initially, aroused some doubts on whether it was consistent with the concept of parliamentary responsibility to permit a career civil servant to be present at the cabinet meetings when he was not a member of the cabinet. Sir Henry Craik from the Treasury referred to the practice in Britain where this functionary began to attend the cabinet meetings since 1909 but in a regular way during the First World War (1914–19). Before the First World War, the cabinet secretary used to keep the minutes of the cabinet proceedings informally, but it was during the war that a regular practice emerged.

In September 1946, the viceroy's executive council was formally renamed as the cabinet and the secretary to the council as the cabinet secretary. H.M. Patel of the Indian Civil Service, was the first Indian cabinet secretary. Until 1950, the functionary was of the joint secretary's rank. In his report on 'Reorganisation of the Machinery of Government', N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar recommended the elevation of this rank. Since 1950, therefore, the cabinet secretary is recognised as the senior-most civil servant of the land. The Administrative Reforms Commission (1966–70) recommended a tenure of three years, and it was accepted by the government though not always observed in practice.

From 1950 till 1977 when the Congress party was uninterruptedly in power, the question of shifting the cabinet secretary did not arise. The person appointed to the post had only a limited number of years left to serve, and thus he would gracefully retire from the post. In 1977, the Congress was defeated, and the Janata Party under Morarji Desai came into power. But the old convention of not changing the cabinet secretary was observed; it was only after the incumbent retired on superannuation that his successor was appointed. Again, though the government changed in 1980, the cabinet secretary was allowed to complete his full term. But in 1981 when he retired, Indira Gandhi, who had come into power a year earlier, superseded three civil servants while appointing the new cabinet secretary. Rajiv Gandhi followed his mother's practice and superseded several civil servants in appointing the cabinet secretary in 1985. In 1989, the National Front prime minister, V.P. Singh, removed the then cabinet secretary and in his place appointed another one, thus superseding several officers. The empirical evidence thus tends to show that in India the principle established in the matter of appointment of the cabinet secretary appears to be his acceptability to the government of the day. The ARC (1966–70) found that the average tenure of the cabinet secretary was two years and eight months, which it considered to be inadequate. It recommended a tenure of three to four years. It also wanted the cabinet secretary to act as the principal staff officer of the prime minister, the cabinet and the cabinet committees on important matters.

There are two posts of extreme sensitivity in the government—the cabinet secretary, and secretary to the prime minister. Though the latter post does not exist in Great Britain, Lord Mountbatten, viceroy in 1947, is said to have advised Jawaharlal Nehru to maintain them keeping Indian conditions in view. Lord Mountbatten, thus, wanted to keep the office of the cabinet secretary insulated from politics. Utmost care must be taken to choose the functionary to protect the office from becoming politicised, a danger which is not merely theoretical in today's India.

Cadre Management

It is a common refrain on the part of the bureaucracy to express helplessness in the face of political interferences. But the fact is that there are many areas of public administration in which the politician has hardly any interest. Most of the agenda

on administrative reform falls in this zone of political indifference. Yet, the bureaucracy has shown little interest in bringing about reform in such areas. Paradoxically, the bureaucracy has hardly any discernible interest in matters of administrative reform, which are absolutely within its own reach.

At present, there are three all-India services and fifty-two central services including three central secretariat services. Major problems in cadre management are identified in what follows.

The cadre structure of some services has been such that an employee could rarely get more than one promotion in his/her entire career. In some, promotions were very rapid for a period and then stopped when a plateau was reached. In short, the cadre structure of several services is presently imbalanced—either too top-heavy or bottom-heavy. The Indian Postal Accounts Service has, for instance, a total strength of sixty to seventy officers, and its members do not have much upward mobility. Recruitment to the Indian Ordnance Service, first created in the fifties, is, again, lopsided. In only one year, it recruited as many as 160 persons while its earlier intake was 7–8 per year. This distorts cadre management. The problem is even worse in the states.

There is a tendency to split up existing services. The Indian Audit and Accounts was split into Civil and Defence. Later, a third service was carved out—the Postal Account Service. This narrows down the functions and also the avenues of upward mobility.

'Feeder' services are presently very large but because the promotion quota is low there is frustration in the service. The promotion quota in them varies from 25 to 50. Where the base is very wide, problems inevitably arise. There are services marked by faster promotion. In the Indian Postal Service, for instance, the promotions for sometime were very rapid. Temporary personnel is another problem. There are employees who continue to remain as temporary even after 28 years of service. Also, the cadre controlling authorities are unsoundly conceived. Their interests are broadly twofold. They want more and more power for themselves. Secondly, they want more posts. Work norms are, at present, defective but the cadre authorities do not look into them. There is a tendency on the part of secretariat personnel to think on narrow service lines. There is, thus, biased thinking.

Camel's nose

Close to camel's nose (Wildasky, 1984) is another form of fiscal administration, where investment in a project has been so high that there comes a point where even its opponents want to finish it so as not to waste the investment.

Cameralists

Cameralists were, perhaps, the first group of persons—scholars and administrators—who evinced interest in systematic administration. The Cameralist group consisted of German and Austrian scholars and public administrators who flourished especially during the 1700s. The most distinguished scholar among the group was George Zincke. 'His bibliography on Cameralism had over 2,000 titles of which 500 dealt with financial administration, and 500 with other distinct administrative topics, including 164 titles on agricultural administration alone.' His famous work *Cameralist Library* 'is a four-volume treatise on the procedures and principles of political economy, fiscal science, and public administration.' An extract from this book will show the extent of interest in administrative problems taken by the Cameralists:

> Using means of livelihood is called managing (Wirthschafften). When the produce provides not merely the wants and conveniences of physical life, but also the excess which we call riches, we call it good management. If the means of livelihood for a land and people are to be flourishing, good management must prevail among and over them. It follows that the ruler, or those who assist him in these important matters, must have the knowledge necessary to insure good management, and must exert the utmost endeavour to secure the application of this knowledge throughout the land. This is necessary not only for the sake of promoting good management in the land, and to put the people in the way of ready means, but it is necessary in order to secure the sources of the prince's own ready means.
>
> It follows that a prince needs genuine and skilful Cameralists. By the name we mean those who possess fundamental and special knowledge about all or some particular part of those things which are necessary in order that they may assist the prince in maintaining good management of the state.

Capacity-building

Capacity-building seeks to develop the capacity of governmental

institutions within a jurisdiction to manage their affairs more effectively and protect and promote their interests. Also, capacity-building reduces the institutional vulnerability to disruptive changes coming from without. Capacity-building is not a passive process. It lays emphasis on teaching and education inasmuch as it helps a community solve its problems. It also involves a greater measure of risk-taking in the choosing of programmes and priorities.

Expectancy theory

According to the expectancy theory, persons are motivated to perform only those actions that they perceive to have high probability of leading to outcomes (rewards) with their desire. Expectancy theory further posits that motivation is the product of a multiplicative relationship between the expected probability of a given reward following a given behaviour and the value attached to that reward.

Caretakers

The caretakers in the government are responsible for supervision of sweepers, farashes, and chowkidars, cleanliness of government premises and security, etc. In 1993, the Government of India had 1,833 posts of caretakers of which 1,356 posts were in Group D, the remaining posts being in Group C.

Carpetbagger

An opportunistic outsider. The term originated in the U.S.A. Following the American Civil War many northerners used to go to the South and became active in the Republican party, principally to benefit from the fluid social and political conditions there during reconstruction. Such a climber was called a carpetbagger as he carried his belongings in a carpet bag. The term has come to mean an outsider who suddenly surfaces in a locality with the purpose of getting elected. Carpetbagging is no more common in the U.S.A. in view of the general observance of 'locality rule'. But it is not uncommon in India. Many politicians seek election from constituencies where they are not resident.

Cartoon

A cartoon is a pictorial caricature dramatising a situation by use of humour, fantasy, satire, incongruity, etc. Many administrative messages are subtly transmitted through cartoons published in the press. Laxman's cartoons in India are widely known for their satirical commentaries on public administration. At one time, *Shankar's Weekly*, as the name suggests was exclusively

devoted to pictorial representation of events including administrative events.

Case Study

Derived from the fields of medicine and psychology, a case study is focussed on a single event, covering it comprehensively and with photographic accuracy. It is a technique in which a specific work situation is presented. Case study captures, in other words, an event within its context. It is a simulation of a real-life situation and is used as a training technique in management courses. *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy* by Peter M. Blau is an example of excellent social science research in which the case-study method was applied to know about the working of two different organisations.

Caste

Castes constitute a hierarchical or, to be more correct, a vertical social arrangement in India. This vertical management of caste groups today finds itself placed under democracy and development and thus, tends towards horizontal indication. Competition among various castes for necessarily scarce resources has been growing so fast that these ascriptive groupings are tending to become political interest groups. This change marks a step towards modernity. Castes are shedding their originally associated hierarchical connotations. But this innate idea of social hierarchy is repellent, particularly to the lower castes and is no longer acceptable to them. Yet, their followers are not ready to give up the membership of their caste as the latter is considered necessary to extract benefits from the state. Caste is a new force in India's emerging political and economic milieu.

Censorship

Control of free expression of thought by banning the flow of information, the main purpose being to preserve morals as defined by the rulers in the society. Censorship supervises a society's manners and morals.

Census

A census is the total process of collecting, compiling, analysing and publishing demographic, social and economic data relating to the entire population in a country at a prescribed time. The population census is the oldest, but of late, censuses of agriculture, housing, mineral industries, etc., have been developed. The principles and approach are more or less the same to all the censuses. Census, in brief, is the taking of a headcount.

Census is the single largest administrative activity of the Government of India. It is also one of

the oldest responsibilities of the government. Below is given a more detailed discussion of this process.

Census Commissioner of India

Population is, today, an exceedingly popular theme of discussion, and for the right reasons. Not much attention, however, is given to those whose work it is to count heads. It is little remembered that demographers and policy-makers ponder over the problems of numbers only after a census has been taken. This entry purports to deal with the administration designed to carry out the exercise of a census. This exercise in India has enjoyed a universal reputation of being highly accurate and reliable. The credit goes, rightly, to what has come to be known as the census organisation, the blueprint of which was first prepared by the British colonial administration in India as early as 1853, even though it was unfinished in design and not without fault in its structuring. The first regular all-India census was taken in 1881.

Rulers have for a long time known the advantage of a census principally for purposes of taxation. Using a census as the basis for taxation has been a universal practice and India is no exception even from ancient times (Kautilya's *Arthshastra* deals with the duty of the revenue collector). One need not go so far into the distant past but can restrict oneself to the period of the British rule. Once British rule was firmly established in India, the British government turned its attention to administrating a census.

In provinces like Madras and Punjab, the custom of making periodic estimates of the population, founded on more or less accurate data, was a long-standing one, but the first systematic attempt to obtain information regarding the population of the whole of India was made between the years 1867 and 1872. But even then, many princely states like Hyderabad, Kashmir and those in Central India, Rajputana and Punjab were left out. The 1871 census, as this cluster is called, moreover, was non-synchronous, and the arrangements made were seldom very elaborate. Earlier, in 1853, the North Western Province (present-day Uttar Pradesh) had organised a census. Nevertheless, the experience gathered was very valuable, for it paved the way for the first regular census on modern lines. This was carried out in 1881 on the night of 17 February 1881; and the provisional, then called 'rough', results of the population were made known in August 1881.[1] It covered all the provinces and princely states in

India except Kashmir. The count was synchronous and taken in a manner, which was standardised. The enumerators followed a standard schedule. Indeed, a code of census procedures[2] had been prepared to bring about uniformity in operations procedures and classifications.

The London government's initiative

A discussion of the census administration in India will not be complete without going into its historical antecedents. In 1801, England began her census series and the British were anxious to ascertain the population of the dependencies and territories of their vast empire. Great Britain had, thus, already developed a fairly well-established procedure for the counting of heads. The British experience was already available and India freely drew upon that. Statistical studies on population were conducted in the Indian subcontinent between 1816 and 1830. In July 1856, the British government in London asked India to hold a census in the country,[3] India was encouraged or even induced to follow the British practices in all respects under the name of imperial unity. It was even suggested at one time that the census in India should be taken synchronously with that of Britain in order to emphasise the imperial character of the operation. But this was rejected on the ground that the conditions of India rendered it impossible to fall in line with this proposal. Nevertheless, to promote liaison, an office was maintained in London for some time.

The Government of India considered the British proposal of 1856. But the upheaval of 1857, which India regards as the first war of Indian independence, resulted in the postponement of this census. As already mentioned, censuses were taken in the North Western Provinces in January 1865, in the Central Provinces in November 1866, in Bihar in 1867, and in Punjab in January 1868. Censuses of the cities of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta were taken in 1863, 1864 and 1866, respectively.

In 1865, the Government of India and the London government agreed in principle that a census should be conducted in 1871. As a result, between 1867 and 1872, censuses were conducted inasmuch of the country as was then practicable. Though these were based on a uniform set of schedules, they were not centrally supervised or compiled. This census series is commonly known as the census of 1872; however, it was not a synchronous census nor did it cover all the areas of India. The census

committee set up in 1877—which consisted of W.C. Plowden (president), H. Beverly, and W.R. Cornish—submitted a detailed report on 29 February 1878 on the conduct of a general census in India in 1881. This report paved the way for the first synchronous census in India.

The beginning in 1881

The ball was set rolling with the promulgation of a legislation to provide a legal basis to conduct a census. This was necessary so that both the enumerators and the enumerated could be brought within an enforceable network of duties and obligations. The administrative system devised in the first census comprised the census commissioner of India at the apex level, the superintendent of census in the provinces, charge-superintendents, supervisors, and enumerators at lower levels. In 1881, the whole control of the administration of census operations was placed in the hands of a single officer; and the officer chosen was Sir William Chicheley Plowden, a Haileyburian who received his education at the East India College (popularly called Haileybury College) during 1850–52. He served in India during 1852–1885, and was earlier commissioner of Meerut. For the 1901 census the charge-superintendents were 9,872, supervisors 1,22,053 and enumerators 1,325,478. The average population per charge varied from 13,000 (Punjab and NWFP) to 50,000 (Bengal),[4] per circle from 1,300 (Burma) to 2,700 (Bengal) and per block 139 (Madras) to 260 (Punjab and North West Frontier Province).

The 1891 census

In 1891, the administrative system for carrying out of a census was further refined. It had at its disposal the experience of ten years. For the 1891 census, the government appointed the census commissioner of India after consulting his predecessor. This procedure was not possible, naturally, at the time of the first headcount. The appointment of the census commissioner was made at a considerably earlier date than on the former occasion in order that the general scheme of operations and the details that had to be uniformly observed throughout the country might be finalised in anticipation of the beginning of actual preparations in the provinces and the princely states. To aid the census commissioner in his task, the superintendents of the 1881 census met in a conference ('workshop', in today's parlance) in December 1889 at which the rules for the enumerators to follow, the subjects to be entered in the schedule, and the tabular

forms in which the results were to be exhibited and many other matters of minor detail were discussed. The conclusions reached were then submitted for the approval to the Government of India, which were duly endorsed and then implemented.

It is usual to have some constitutional provision for the taking of the periodic census. This, at any rate, is the case in the U.S.A., where the provision in the original federal constitution for a periodic enumeration of the inhabitants, in order to determine their representation, lead to the growth of a permanent census department in that country. Furthermore, a census on a federal basis is likely to need provision for a more effective control over the constituent unit. In order to obtain uniformity, it is, therefore, clearly desirable that the various units contributing to the Indian census should be amenable to central control not only in the details of administration but also in the appointments of personnel for the census.

At the very beginning, standard rules for a census were compiled and put in what was called the Imperial Census Code on the basis of which each census superintendent prepared his own criteria, modified in matters of details to suit the local conditions existing in the areas with which they had to deal. The taking of the census within the framework of a code was found successful both as a means of securing uniformity and also in conveying the necessary instruction to the provincial superintendents.

Administrative machinery at the centre

Census is a subject in the union list[5] in the Constitution and thus constitutes a direct central responsibility. Taking into account the very nature and magnitude of the census operation, which covers every nook and cranny of the country, it must necessarily depend heavily on the personnel working in the state governments as well as on local bodies. The census administration is an integrated administration: the headquarters at Delhi and the directorate of census operations at the state level are under the central government, while the other administrative bodies are temporarily drawn from the state and local governments. To wield and motivate such an organisation calls for exceptional efforts on the part of senior-level functionaries. The commissioner of census is the captain of the organisation, which penetrates into the remotest parts of the country.

The census is held within the framework of a statute enacted by the Parliament in 1948, called the

Census Act, 1948. It is a four-page legislative piece, defining, in barest details, the role of census functionaries, the mode of their appointment, their functions and responsibilities as well as the duties of the citizens to cooperate with the field staff. The census personnel must collect information on authorised questions only, and must not disclose any information so collected to anyone else. Confidentiality of information collected from an individual is guaranteed.

Location of supervising ministry

Ever since the beginning, matters relating to the census has been looked after by the home department or ministry in the Government of India. This ministry is responsible for all policy matters relating to the census, and the office of registrar-general and census commissioner is an attached office under it. With the advent of planning in the 1950s, a demand was occasionally made favouring its shift to the Planning Commission. Because of the heavy statistical content of the job, location of census work in one of the existing statistics-dealing agencies of the government has also been insisted upon. Census involves the support and cooperation of a huge administrative machinery, the bulk of which belongs to the state governments. In India, the name of the home ministry carries political weight, which no other organ of the government has been able to enjoy. The home ministry's dealing point in the states is the chief minister himself. Census requires 'teeth' even if these are not bared, and the location of the census agency in the home ministry brings it immediate attention all along the line.

Census commissioner

The census commissioner is a statutory officer in the sense that his appointment is defined in the Enabling Act, 1948. In fact, the legal basis of the decennial census is provided by this Act. Even the first census of 1881 had followed the enactment of the Census Act, which had the purpose of defining legally enforceable obligations and responsibilities on all census functionaries, as well as on the people. But they were temporary, and lapsed once the census was over. The Act of 1948 is not temporary. The census commissioner's function is described in it briefly (merely 20 words) and states who will supervise the census throughout the area in which the census is being carried.[6] The Act says that the central government may appoint a census commissioner to supervise the taking of the census. The Act is, thus, absolutely silent on the occupational background of the

functionary or his professional qualification. In short, legally speaking, anyone, even from outside the bureaucracy, may be appointed as census commissioner.

But the census commissioner has always been drawn from the premier generalist service, known earlier as the Indian Civil Service and later as the Indian Administrative Service. The first census commissioner for India, which was the full designation, was W.C. Plowden, who was a product of the patronage mode of recruitment, having spent a mandatory three years at the Haileybury College. His successor, J.A. Baines, was drawn from the Indian Civil Service and since then this functionary is as a rule a member of the Indian Civil Service/Indian Administrative Service. This is provided in the rules. But the incumbent is selected by the government with more than normal care. Besides possessing the usual qualities of efficiency and effectiveness, he must be tactful, resourceful and a good leader of men, proven in field postings who can quickly build rapport with other departments and personnel most of whom are outside his own hierarchy. In short, the person fit for the job must be a cut above the rest, and thus requires careful selection. The person appointed must, for instance, be familiar with past census work. This has been happening since the beginning. J.A. Baines, the census commissioner for India in 1891, was the census superintendent for Bombay in the earlier counting. Relevant experience has thus nearly always been taken into account when appointing senior- and middle-level positions in the census hierarchy. It may be safe to generalise and take the view that a census commissioner is drawn from that small group of Indian Administrative Service officers, who had earlier served as superintendent of census in the state thus bringing with him the experience of the job gathered in the past. In other words, the census commissioner for the year 2001 is chosen from the directors of census operations of 1991. In practice, the nucleus of final selection is even smaller, for, the incumbent generally comes from the bigger states of the union or according to seniority. The only exception to this norm was R.A. Gopalaswamy, who became commissioner of census for the 1951 census without possessing any previous experience. One may here, cite the more typical case of Asok Mitra, the census commissioner in 1961. Before taking charge of the census commission from 1958 till 1968, he was the census superintendent of West Bengal from 1951–58, and the sub-divisional charge officer in 1941 and as a

student, earlier, Mitra had functioned as an enumerator in 1931.

The post of 'commissioner of census' is and has always been manned by a generalist administrator, drawn either from the Haileybury College or the Indian Civil Service or from its successor service the Indian Administrative Service. This merits discussion. Little doubt exists as regards the statistical content of the office. But the functionary's job requirement contains more than anything else, the proven capability to mobilise the huge organisation and motivate and lead nearly million personnel drawn, as they necessarily are, from various professions as well as departments of the state governments. All these call for a high level of administrative capabilities in the apex-level functionary. Nor, should one forget that the census commissioner has necessarily to enlist the support and cooperation of numerous functionaries working in different departments of the state governments as well as non-officials. In the contemporary administrative culture of India, an officer carrying the label of Indian Administrative Service commands a level of acceptance and respect unavailable to other services. To conclude, the census commissioner is borne on the cadre of the Indian Administrative Service, and this would continue to be the position under the present administrative system.

Advance planning is a prerequisite of successful census administration. It must begin clearly four years before the date of census. A host of activities await attention and action. Draft questionnaires are developed taking into consideration the past experience, the needs of the country to be served by the census data, the recommendations of the United Nations, etc. These questionnaires are discussed in the Data Users' Conference, where important ministries of the central government, the Planning Commission, the state governments, universities, demographic and population institutes, individual experts, etc., are invited. The census commissioner is assisted by an advisory committee on technical issues, which is appointed by the central government to advise on technical aspects of the census. The questionnaires are vetted by this committee. Pre-testing of questionnaires in selected areas takes place, and feedback is analysed by the advisory committee. There is, again, a pre-testing to ensure that the questions asked yield precisely the desired response at all places, and no ambiguity is discerned.

State-level census administration

In each state, the responsibility

for census is entrusted to the director of census operations who, like the apex-level functionary, is appointed by the central government in consultation with the census commissioner. Selected from amongst the members of the Indian Administrative Service or, in the case of smaller states, from the state civil service, he is on deputation to the centre though posted in the state capital. For the purpose of census administration, each state capital has a census office, known as the Office of the Director of Census Operations. The criteria governing the selection of the director of census operations are his possessing proven administrative ability and qualities of leadership. The post carries enormous responsibility, which hardly any other comparable post carries. He has to depend largely on his own resourcefulness, qualities of leadership and persuasiveness to get the best out of his peers and juniors at the state and lower levels as also from the citizens. The Office of Director of Census Operations is a permanent organisation, but only at the time of census is it expanded—supplemented by open market temporary recruitment or internal temporary recruitment, that is, deputation from their sister departments in the state government. The director of census operations directly reports to the census commissioner and is responsible for organising and supervising the census in the state. He is assisted by deputy or assistant directors of census operations who are, generally, officers of the state civil services taken on secondment. They are deputed nearly two years before the date of the census and their task is to look after administration, training of field personnel, running of tabulation offices for processing of data, etc. These are all full-time functionaries.

Mention here needs to be made of the regional tabulation offices created below the state capital but above the district. In the region covered, these offices act as the ears and hands of the director of census operations. The regional tabulation offices, being the field agencies of the latter have two categories of staff, one permanent, and another temporary. Each is headed by a deputy director of census operations. Most of them, are on deputation but some are borne on the permanent payrolls of the census organisation. The posting here is for a short period after which the regional tabulation office vanishes altogether along with the deputy director of census operations. The regional tabulation office is the field agency of the Directorate of Census Operations till the end of enumeration, and after that it

converts itself into the regional tabulation office. These two phases of work are continuous operations, and the requirements of both the phases are kept in mind and planned for.

The director of census operations, drawn as he is from amongst the state government functionaries, is placed in an advantageous position in his dealings with the various functionaries, many of whom are already known to him and have even worked with him in the past. Yet, his job being such, he has to remain in constant touch with the state government departments, especially the revenue one. To facilitate his functioning, a nodal officer is nominated: he is the secretary in the home department, general administration department or the planning department.

Below the state level lies the sprawling field agency, the life organ of the census—comprising the district census officers, the charge officers, supervisors and enumerators. The field is a terminal organisation melting away during the off-census times, assembled and put into animation at the time of the headcount.

Below the state-level director of census operations comes the revenue district, and its head, namely the district collector/ deputy commissioner who is made in-charge of census work in his territorial jurisdiction. For this responsibility, he is designated the principal census officer for the district. In Uttar Pradesh, thus, the director of census operations has to deal with 63 district collectors, who shoulder the census responsibilities in addition to other normal ones, including those relating to law and order. But the real functionary at the district level is another who is appointed by the director of census operations in consultation with the district collector and designated as the district census officer. The district census officer is the full-time functionary at the district level and he is drawn from amongst the existing functionaries, and the census duties are in addition to his other responsibilities. To enable him to work effectively, he is given a complement of staff who is borne on the census commissioner's budget. The complement comprises census assistants and census clerks, two each to the district census officer. These two are clerical-level persons taken on deputation for a period of two years.

A district is further divided for census work. As a rule, the census administration adopts the traditional revenue boundaries of division. Below the district officer comes the sub-divisional officer. The sub-divisional officer supervises the work of the charge

officers. A tehsildar is a charge officer. As a tehsil includes rural areas as well as towns, the tehsildar is the charge officer for the rural areas whereas for towns and cities, separate charge officers are appointed by the district census officer: they are the executive officers of the municipal committees.

A charge officer appoints supervisors and enumerators. For every five enumerators, one supervisor is appointed. Generally, a school headmaster is made a supervisor and enumerators are drawn from primary school teachers. In big cities, they are drawn from the government staff also. No non-official is appointed either as a supervisor or as enumerator, though such persons could be, and were, appointed till the 1931 census.

The foregoing, thus, describes the administrative machinery and personnel for conducting the world's largest democracy's headcount. The district census organisation, on which the whole edifice of the census commissioner and the directors of census operations rests, belongs to the state government, which is made available to the centre for the specific purpose of census-taking. This exercise in administrative federalism was originally developed by the British colonial rulers and retained in the Government of India Act, 1935 as the latter had visualised federalism for India.

Unique features of census organisation

The administration for counting of heads in India has certain features worth recounting. First, the taking of a census in India is at least over 110 years old, if not more, and the organisation design first developed at that time still holds good to this date. Few census organisations in the world are that old. Secondly, ever since its inception in 1881, it has been holding the census every ten years, without interruption. Great Britain, where conducting a census began in 1801, did not organise one in 1941 because of the Second World War. But India went ahead with its decennial census in 1941, even though it was a war year, thanks to the special pleadings for its holding by M.W.M. Yeatts, the census commissioner for 1941. China, with the largest population in the world was able to hold censuses only in 1980 and 1990. Thirdly, the census organisation is a mammoth one having at its peak time a strength of a little less than two million people where nearly all except the top two levels are on temporary secondment. Fourthly, the census organisation is a terminal organisation. The census apparatus is constituted on a

temporary basis, but the holding of a census every ten years gives it a permanent stamp, especially after 1960. However, most of the census personnel do get the sack once the census work is over. The work in the census organisation in the ten-year period between one census and the next can, thus, be likened to a cycle when approximately more than two years before the date of enumeration, work and organisation start building up. The intensity of arrangements reaches its highest pitch several months before the date of enumeration. After the field operation, the focus of the entire organisation shifts to checking and compilation of the field data for the primary census abstract and other tables and preparation of materials for the census report. This activity goes on for about two years after the date of enumeration. Thus, in a period of more than two years before and two to three years after the enumeration date, one witnesses a crescendo of activity. Thereafter, slowly but perceptibly, workload starts tapering off. Then, for a period of three to four years there is a period of relative inactivity till it is time again to prepare for the next census. Understandably, therefore, the personnel component of the census organisation during the so called intercensal period comes down substantially and drastically.

Yet another impressive feature of the census organisation is the acknowledged brevity of its life. As regards the shortness of its life, there is hardly any parallel, at any rate, in India. The first census, held in 1881, was conducted just in one night on the night of 17 February 1881. To further drive home this point, 229,670,318 heads were counted on one night in 1881 and 10 years later, in 1891, the enumeration of over 250 million of people was carried out within four hours. Surely, head counting is no longer done in one day. The last one-day census was done in 1931. It posed formidable problems at the level of enumeration, which compelled it to be abandoned. The 1941 census shifted from night to daytime, and was based on what is technically called extended de facto system of enumeration which was spread over a number of days with the date of reference fixed on 1 March. The counting for the 'houseless' is still done on one night—28 February to 1 March throughout the country. Nor should one forget that head-counting in India is the most arduous administrative exercise of its kind in the world in which time-discipline is of the utmost importance.

The paperwork entailed in

census taking is enormous. Right from the beginning in 1881, schedules and forms are printed in different languages. J.A. Baines, the census commissioner for India, gives an account of the scale of preparations made for the 1891 census. As he mentions, 'the standard rules had been sanctioned and circulated so that the local officers could start on the work of translation and printing, and for this, 17 languages were selected.' The census superintendent, in his turn was issuing his general instructions, and the district-level functionaries were mapping out their charges for purposes of enumeration, and estimating the number of schedules required for use in each sub-division specifying the languages and even the character in which each indent should be printed and arranging for their circulation throughout the sub-division from the nearest railway station. Speaking of the scale and volume of the work involved, Baines mentions in his report on the 1891 census that about 290 tons of paper were used for the schedules, and just under a million men and boys were employed as enumerators.[7] He continues: 'In a country where only about 11 males in the hundred can read and write at all, and the standard of that accomplishment is ... by no means a high one, the difficulty of finding enough competent men was got over by the adoption of a plan tried with success in 1891... namely, that of entering before hand in the schedules the whole of the domiciled population of a place and merely bringing it up-to-date on the night of enumeration.'[8]

Baines rightly concluded: 'The census of India is the heaviest enterprise of the kind that has ever been undertaken, especially as the final enumeration of over 250 millions of people was carried out within four hours.'[9] Since then, the paperwork has increased tremendously as have other tasks.

As mentioned earlier, the transitory character of the total census organisation was a fact until 1961 when its higher-level segment was given a permanent footing. Originally, the census commissioner for India was appointed for only four years, nearly two years before and two years after the date of enumeration. The office was revived only when the next census was due. Today, the census commissioner is a permanent functionary, combining as he does the office of registrar-general of India (or, rather, the vice versa; the registrar-general of India is made ex officio census commissioner). But the field organisation comprising the regional tabulation offices, district census organisation, charge officers, supervisors and

enumerators numbering slightly less than two million personnel is dispensed with soon after the headcount. A new field organisation is created when the next census is due.

A phoenix organisation has its problems and handicaps, more so in the case of a subject like census, which is the central responsibility under the Constitution but its eyes, ears and hands are provided by the constituent units. The census organisation is an apt case of administrative federalism.

[1]The 1891 Census of India, Part I, General Report, p. 283.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 287.

[3]The Statistical Despatch No. 2 of 23 July 1856 of the Board of Directors of the East India Company.

[4]Danvers, F.C. and others, *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, Westminster, London, Archibald Constable and Co., 1894, p. 453.

[5]Entry 69 of the Constitution of India.

[6]Section 3 of the Census Act, 1948.

[7]1891 Census of India, Part I, General Report, p. 283.

[8]*Ibid.*, p. 283.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 287.

Central Vigilance Commission (CVC)

Corruption emerged as a national problem for the first time in India when it was engaged in implementing its second Five Year Plan (1956–61) oriented, as it was, towards industry and involving huge public expenditure. The country was already committed to a mixed pattern of economic development under which both public sector and private sector were to coexist, the latter being heavily regulated and controlled by the state. This paved the way for a new triangular relationship initiating a continuing dialogue between the politician, the industrialist (or would be industrialist) and the higher civil servant. This triangle became the breeding ground for organised corruption, which was confirmed by Justice S.R. Das's inquiry commission against Punjab's controversial chief minister, Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon. Wearied, the Parliament in 1962 mounted a demand to examine the problem of corruption in the country. In 1962, Lal Bahadur Shastri, then prime minister, accepted the demand and the K. Santhanam Committee on Prevention of Corruption was set up to examine its causes and suggest remedial measures. Its report, submitted in 1964, was keenly debated all over the country. The upshot was the establishment of the Central Vigilance Commission as a single-member body headed by the chief vigilance commissioner to combat corruption in the public bureaucracy.

The Central Vigilance Commission is the country's chief watchdog organisation to check corruption and promote integrity in the Government of India. The CVC is an advisory body, submitting an annual report in which it makes a special mention about cases on which the government did not accepted its advice. Its intention is to focus public criticism of governmental inaction. The CVC does not possess its own investigating agency: it depends on the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), which is the country's chief investigative agency dealing with corruption cases but fully under the control of the ministry of home affairs. Above all, the Central Vigilance Commission was set up under an executive resolution of the government being, thus, neither a constitutional body nor a statutory one and which did not impart it a stature high enough with regard to the prevalent intensity of the problem in question. The political leadership of the land could not have cared less as it was itself a culprit being largely responsible for such a state of affairs. In 1988, the Government of India had conferred a sort of immunity on the higher civil service by proclaiming an order known as a single directive under which no inquiry by investigating agencies could be started against any officer of the rank of the joint secretary or above without the prior approval of the government. The political apathy would have persisted indefinitely if the leadership had not been placed under a compulsion to act. Large-scale bribery involving leading politicians and bureaucrats by an industrialist (who was believed to be acting as a conduit) was unearthed in 1997. This is known as the Jain hawala case. The Jain hawala case disclosed that investigating agencies like the Central Bureau of Investigation and the Enforcement Directorate (ED) are under the executive control and are thus, manipulated by the country's politicians and bureaucrats. In its judgment of 18 December 1997, the Supreme Court, therefore, emphasised the 'need for insulation of the agencies from any extraneous influence'. The Supreme Court devised a series of measures to improve the effectiveness of the CBI and ED. It wanted a statutory status for the Central Vigilance Commission and wanted it to exercise the power of superintendence over the functioning of the CBI and the Enforcement Directorate including the appointment and transfer of their key officers. The apex court struck down the single directive in its judgment of 18 December 1997.

The Supreme Court judgment

attempted to insulate the investigating agencies from political and bureaucratic influence by ordering that the Central Vigilance Commission be made a statutory body and vested with powers to supervise the CBI and Enforcement Directorate and have a role in the choice of the heads of the two agencies.

The Law Commission of India which was consulted on the setting up of the functionary had lent it a provision that all executive actions of the Government of India would come under the Central Vigilance Commission. When the Law Commission's draft Bill was forwarded to the Government the Bill was submitted to a committee of ministers. What emerged from the latter was a changed, weakened Bill. It restricted the ambit of the vigilance commission to offenses under the Prevention of Corruption Act. The commission's membership was enlarged to five, and the secretary of the department of personnel was to be a member and, most disturbing, the choice of commissioners was to be restricted to bureaucrats, contrary to the Supreme Court's judgment which had explicitly mentioned 'and others'. The personnel secretary's inclusion could apparently be defended on the ground that he would prevent witch-hunting of civil servants and thus maintain the morale of the mandarins. This is a spurious defence: no bureaucratic conscience was pricked when honest officers such as M.K. Bezbaruah, Trinath Mishra, U.N. Biswas were hurriedly shifted from their seats. The personnel secretary's inclusion as a vigilance commissioner had a dubious motive, and thus demoralises the honest and dedicated civil servants. The Lok Sabha cleared the necessary Bill in March 1999 but it is yet to get approval from the upper house.

The central vigilance commissioner is thus, proposed to be a statutory anti-corruption authority. It is to be a four-member commission, the choice of commissioners being not restricted to civil servants only. The initial ordinance, one may note, had confined the choice to bureaucrats only. Under the proposed legislation the chief vigilance commissioner enjoys a four-year term while the three commissioners serve for three years or till they turn 65, whichever is earlier. The CVC and the commissioners are appointed by the president on the recommendation of a panel comprising the prime minister, home minister and leader of the opposition. In a bid to shield the chief vigilance commissioner and vigilance commissioners from future temptations they are rendered ineligible for further employment

under diplomatic missions after leaving the commission.

The Chief Vigilance Commission's function is to investigate offences, under the Prevention of Corruption Act, committed by the bureaucracy of the Government of India, public corporations, government companies and local authorities. It is mandatory for all ministries to reply within 30 days when sanction is sought to prosecute a public servant and the period becomes 60 days when the person to be prosecuted is a presidential appointee.

The Central Vigilance Commission is endowed with an advisory status: it advises the central government on the course of action after an enquiry and allows the government to disagree and communicate its reasons in writing. This may be its weak point but the long-term strength of the Central Vigilance Commission lies in the calibre and integrity of its commissioners and the support it receives from Parliament, the body which has brought it into existence.

One should learn one's lessons from the earlier Central Vigilance Commission and must not repeat the same mistakes in the future. The Central Vigilance Commission has many problems which hinder its effective functioning. It has suffered from a shortage of staff; the time taken for investigations is yet another handicap. The sanction for prosecution of officials seems to be an endless process. Yet another weak area in India's crusade against corruption is that the presenting agency is but a limb of the executive and thus, enjoys no independent, autonomous status. In August 1998, M.K. Bezbaruah, an officer known for his integrity and sense of duty, was transferred from his post as head of the Enforcement Directorate and was given the post of managing Delhi's public buses. This erodes the credibility of such agencies. One, thus, comes across the spectacle of competent prosecutors being replaced by people of low calibre who can be manipulated with every change in government. Prosecutors must be made independent of the executive.

Originally, the Central Vigilance Commission was a single-member body. Multi-membership has its own limitations. It raises the cost thus adding to the taxpayers' burden and may cause sub-optimum utilisation of resources. This is avoidable waste. All over the world, efforts are being made to prune jobs in administration whereas India is piling up multi-member bodies creating what may look like sinecure jobs especially on the periphery of public administration.

As the Supreme Court insisted on a statutory base for the CVC

an ordinance was issued by the central government. An ordinance is a temporary legislation ultimately to be replaced by a law duly enacted by the legislature within a definite time frame. However, the Parliament could not pass the new law. As the ordinance lapsed on 19 March 1999, the Central Vigilance Commission reverted to its original status of being a body created by an executive order.

Till the time of writing, the Central Vigilance Commission has seen three phases. It owed itself to an executive order from 1964 till 1998. From 1998 till the middle of March 1999, it became a statutory body deriving its authority from an ordinance. As the Parliament could not enact the necessary legislation, the ordinance lapsed and as a consequence the Central Vigilance Committee continues to be a single-member body deriving its authority from an executive order, as in the past.

Chamber of Princes

The Chamber of Princes existed in India during 1921–1947. It was an institutionalised forum for consultative collaboration among the princes of India. A number of rulers of the various Indian states had felt the need, for some time, for mutual consultation on problems and issues commonly experienced by them. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1918) paid tributes to the princes for their valuable help during the First World War (1914–18). They felt that a permanent consultative body headed by the viceroy was required. The Chamber of Princes was formally inaugurated by a royal proclamation of February 1921. The royal proclamation thus defined the duties and functions of the chamber.

> My viceroy will take counsel freely in matters relating to the territories of Indian states generally and the matters that effect these territories jointly with British India or with the rest of the Empire. It will have no concern with the internal affairs of individual states or their Rules or with relations of the individual states with my Government, while the existing rights of these states, and their freedom of action will in no way be prejudiced or impaired.

The body was called the Chamber of Princes, its Hindi name being Narendra Mandal. The constitution of the Chamber of Princes laid down the following functions:

1. To make recommendations relating to the preservation and maintenance of treaties

and of the rights and engagement, dignity and powers, privileges and prerogatives of the princes and chiefs, their states and members of their families;
2. To discuss and make representations on matters of imperial or common concern and subjects referred to the chamber for consideration by the viceroy;
3. To appoint committees of experts or others to advise the chamber upon technical or other intricate questions;
4. To appoint a chancellor of the chamber and standing committee; such appointments were to be made in accordance with the 'regulations' by which the functions of the chancellor and the standing committee were also defined;
5. To propose for the consideration of the viceroy 'regulations' for any purpose connected with chamber of rules of business or amendments or alterations of the regulations or rules; and
6. To deal with any other matter provided by the regulations or rules.

The Chamber of Princes was a purely deliberative, consultative and advisory body and was not to assume any legislative or executive functions. The viceroy was the president of the chamber and he epitomised the spirit in which the chamber was conceived. With the lapse of Paramountcy on 15 August 1947 the Chamber of Princes lapsed and thus died a natural and unobtrusive death.

Chauki

A station, a custom house.

Chaukidar

A watchman, a police or customs peon.

Chaukidari

A tax levied to defray the cost of a town or village watch; the fees or wages paid to the town or village watchman.

Chipko Movement

A tree conservation movement started in the Uttarakhand region of Uttar Pradesh (now Uttaranchal Pradesh) in the late 1970s and early 1980s led by Sunderlal Bahuguna and other Gandhians and, later joined by rural women. 'Chipko' means hugging and the movement acquired its name when women of the hill regions of what was then Uttar Pradesh hugged the trees to prevent them from being felled. The Chipko movement is a grassroots environmental effort. Increasing deforestation in the hills spelled misery for the local people who remained deprived of forest

produce such as fuel and fodder. The increasing presence of forest contractors and liquor vendors added to their miseries. It was a social movement aimed at the protection of the environment led by Sunderlal Bahuguna.

Choti Hazri

Meaning little breakfast. It refers to the morning tea, presented by the servant who wakes one in the morning.

Chris Argyris

Born in 1923, Chris Argyris is an outstanding American psychologist. His well-known work is: *Personality and Organisation* (1957).

Arguing that a basic incompatibility exists between individual needs and organisational goals, Argyris seeks an integration between the two. To this end, he has developed the concept of organisation development or O.D., as it is popularly called. He believes that organisations 'dematurise' their personnel, which demands changing them. If an organisation changes its internal dynamics, it will produce creative workers.

Citizen Participation

A sure indicator of citizen empowerment. The days of primary (or direct) democracy are over in the modern world, the notable exception being the gram sabha whose membership comprises all the residents of the village. Citizen participation is a widely discussed issue in all the countries of the world and has been an issue since the 1960s. Sherry R. Arnstein had defined the term most comprehensively in 1969. According to him, citizen participation 'is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future. It is the strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programmes are operated and benefits like contracts and patronage are parcelled'.[1]

[1]Arnstein, Sherry R.: 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners,* July 1969, vol. 35.

Civil Defence

The organisation and training of citizens to assist the armed forces in wartime, especially during an enemy attack.

Civil Service

The dictionary meaning of the word 'civil servant' is 'a civil service employee'. The same source defines 'civil service' as three branches of public service concerned with all governmental administrative functions outside the

armed service. The dictionary further restricts the definition of 'civil service' to mean government employees recruited on the basis of merit rather than by political patronage.

An authoritative definition of a civil servant in Britain is provided in that country's annually published *Civil Service Statistics.*

> A servant of the crown working in a civil capacity who is not the holder of political (or judicial) office; the holder of certain other offices in respect of whose tenure special provision has been made; servant of the Crown in a personal capacity paid from the Civil List. (Civil Service Statistics, HMSO, 1982).

Civil Service Commission

A civil service commission is the authoritative recruiting body in a country's civil service employment system. Driven by a determination to keep the rascals out, the world's first civil service commission was set up in the United Kingdom in 1854 to conduct an open competitive examination for the selection of candidates on the basis of merit. The United States appointed a civil service commission in 1833 but was abolished in 1978 when this body was replaced by the Office of Personnel Management and the Merit Systems Protection Board. Great Britain's civil service commission recruited members for the higher civil service in India too. For the first time in India, a civil service commission was appointed in 1926.

The civil service commission conducts written competitive examinations to be taken by desirous candidates for their initial selection. While selection is its primary task, it may be entrusted with other personnel administration responsibilities also. It is made independent of the executive, to reinforce which it is made a multi-membership body. To keep them away from the executive temptation the members are made ineligible for further employment after their retirement. Their pay and other conditions of service are also protected and cannot be varied to their disadvantage.

The civil service commissions were until recently an Anglo-saxon institution. As said earlier, the United States abolished its civil service commission in 1978. The civil service commissions today exist in the commonwealth countries—countries which were once part of the British empire. Countries of Europe do not have them. In France and other countries the responsibility of public recruitment is entrusted to a

government-run 'ecole' which is also their training school.

Civil Service in France

France is a republic with a strong presidency. The president is elected for a term of seven years and he appoints the prime minister who is in charge of the work of the government and directs the policy of the nation. The constitution of 1958, which is at present in operation, is both parliamentary and presidential. The government is made responsible to the National Assembly.

The civil service in France includes a large workforce. In France, teachers including university professors and lecturers are classified as civil servants, which is not the case in countries like India and Great Britain. In 1988, the total strength of the French civil service was 1.9 million; in addition there are temporary, part-time and contract-based public employees who in 1988 numbered 0.3 million.

Structure and classification

A civil service may be classified in different ways, and one very popular method is level-wise classification. As in India, France has adopted a vertical classification of its civil service. All civil servants fall into four categories—category A, category B, category C, and category D—corresponding to the level of responsibility entailed and basic academic requirements postulated for entering a particular corps. Category D, as group D in India, is the lowest in the administrative hierarchy and includes janitors, cleaners, etc. Category C includes skilled and semi-skilled workers, clerical personnel, typists, etc., and is above category D. Category B includes first-line supervisors comprising administrative secretaries, higher executive officers, etc. The topmost civil servants engaged in policy-making and supervision are grouped in category A which includes the ENA and the Ecole Polytechnique graduates on one side and other graduates sometimes referred to as the 'A' category, on the other, such as the administrator civil and the attachés. The size of each category is given in the following table, the figure being of the year 1988.

Table

Category	*Number*	*Percentage*
Category A	546,974	28.0
Category B	620,803	31.8
Category C	668,511	34.2
Category D	117,739	0.6
Total	1,954,097	100.00

France does not have a unified civil service: it is stratified and fragmented, as in India. India has several services manned by

personnel recruited through the common competitive examination and trained (partly), initially in a common training school (National Academy of Administration). But each service has its own unique career path and career prospects. Likewise, France too has a number of what are known as 'corps', the term being the equivalent of 'service' in India. Some corps are inter-departmental or trans-departmental: their members occupy posts which are not restricted to a particular department or ministry. There are also corps whose members stay only in the departments they have been allotted on their recruitment.

The higher civil service in France comprises three components—the administrative generalists, the technical generalists, and scientists. The Indian reader does not need an explanation of the term 'administrative generalists' since the Indian Administrative Service falls in this category and is an example. But the French public administration does not permit these generalists to move freely all over its administrative space. In departments which are of a technical and scientific, nature, France observes the policy of manning middle- and senior-level positions by 'scientific generalists'. These are civil servants who have undergone a common course of instruction at the state-run technical 'Grandes Ecole' (Ecole Polytechnique) and a spell of specialisation in technical schools called 'Ecoles d'Applications' (which are separate from Ecole Polytechnique). The compulsory training at the Ecole Polytechnique is not designed to produce specialists or pure engineers in different fields of technology or persons who immediately put their knowledge to application in a plant or a research laboratory. Rather, the object of their training is to produce administrators well versed in science and mathematics and capable of communicating with perfect ease and confidence with engineers and specialised technicians and enlisting their cooperation. They are trained to assume responsibilities of management.

The civil service in France comprises a large number of corps. A corps is the basic unit of organisation of the civil service, and it functions strictly within it. At present, there are nearly 1,600 corps in existence—1,599, to be exact. The number is indeed large, but it must be kept in mind that as few as thirty of these alone account for seventy per cent of all civil servants. A civil servant, one may recall, is recruited to a particular corps and he stays in it for the rest of his official career. He may go out on deputation or

secondment with the right of re-integration—and such facilities do exist in the French public administration in plenty, more than anywhere else in the world—but he continues to carry with him the label of his corps. Also, there are many jobs in public administration which are not the monopoly of any particular corps: they are open and filled by civil servants provided they satisfy the qualification required. The civil service of France has acquired its present form through a long process of evolution and pragmatism; no particular ideology has shaped its profiles and contours. This has, among others, resulted in the existence of a large number of corps. France long ago brought about the separation of the church from the state and declared itself to be secular, but there is a corps of clergy in existence. Its explanation lies in history: in the region which was once a part of Germay but is now of France, the clergymen were appointed by the state. Secular France inherited this arrangement and continues to recruit clergymen in the region. They are paid as civil servants, and constitute a separate corps.

Though France has over 1,500 corps all are not of the same level of gravity or significance. The most prestigious are what are known as the grands corps de l'etat which are six or eight in number.

Higher General Administrative Corps

1. Corps du Conseil d'Etat
2. Corps de Inspection General des Finances
3. Corps des Cour des Comptes
4. Corps Diplomatique
5. Corps des Prefectoral

Higher Scientific and Engineers Corps

1. Corps des Mines
2. Corps des Fonts et Chaussees
3. Corps des Ingenieurs des Telecommunications

The most coveted careers in the French civil service lie in the grand corps and the most prestigious among these is the Corps du Conseil d'Etat on par with the Inspectorate General of Finance. The Conseil d'Etat is the supreme administrative court in France. Besides, its consultation on a proposed legislation is mandatory. The annual intake in it is between four and six which invariably go to the top scorers at ENA. Promotion in the corps is time-bound and is based strictly on seniority. This tends to make its members absolutely independent and impartial. Members of this corps get posted not only in the Conseil d'Etat but also in other organisations—public, semi-public, and even private. In fact, at any given time at least half of the

total strength of this corps would be working outside the Conseil d'Etat and occupying leadership positions wherever they are posted on secondment. They are in great demand because of their deep knowledge of law and vast administrative experience although the informal organisation based on 'old boys' ties of ENA days is not without weight or influence.

The Inspection General des Finances, or the corps of Finance Inspectors, is generally the second choice of the ENA graduates. Five to six persons are recruited annually to this corps. It specialises in budgeting and financial management and many or most key positions in fund allocation in the ministry of finance are manned by members of this corps. In addition, its members are spread out and posted all over the government occupying senior positions. The Finance Inspectorate undertakes spot checks on all those who are responsible for collection and disbursement of public funds.

Article 47 of the French constitution states: 'The Cour des Comptes assists Parliament and the government to supervise the execution of financial laws'. The Cour des Comptes' responsibility is to ensure that public expenditure is in complete accordance with appropriate authorisation. Its members check public accounts to see whether the expenditure shown as incurred on an item was authorised or not. It is a legality check. The Cour des Comptes performs functions broadly carried out by the comptroller and auditor-general of India. This corps is generally the third choice of the ENA graduates, the first or the second preference being the Conseil d'Etat and the Finance Inspectorate, depending upon the orienting values of the outgoing group at the ENA. It is a service of accountants and auditors and its members enjoy a very high degree of mobility as well as prestige. France has a large public sector and members of this corps go out and occupy key positions.

The Prefectoral Corps makes available officers for the posts of sub-prefects in the departments (or districts). The prefect is an office of great honour and visibility in the district: he is the spokesman and representative of the state in his area of operation. His position may be likened to that of an ambassador who represents his state in the country of his posting. The Diplomatic Corps is like the Indian Foreign Service and its members are appointed to France's diplomatic missions abroad. The Corps des Mines is the service of engineers and its members occupy policy-making positions, mostly in technical ministries like the ministry of industry. Similarly, the Corps des

Fonts et Chaussees, founded under Louis XIV, consists of engineers engaged in the construction of roads, bridges and other public works. The ministry of supplies and equipment is the traditional stronghold of the Corps des Fonts et Chaussees though it is not the only ministry.

A civil servant spends the larger part of his career in the corps for which he has been recruited. Opportunities exist for improving one's career prospects and moving to a higher corps but they are relatively limited, both in number and range. There is an internal competitive examination limited to serving civil servants only and a fixed percentage of higher posts is filled from amongst the successful candidates from internal competition. In addition, a certain proportion of posts at each higher level in administration are filled by the government at its discretion without the intervention of ENA. Though the government may appoint anyone it considers fit, in practice the choice is restricted to civil servants immediately subordinate in the hierarchy and who have shown notable efficiency in their work.

But it is the prerogative of the members of the Grands Corps to enjoy virtually unlimited opportunities of moving up the organisational hierarchy as well as working outside it with the right to reintegrate themselves with their parent corps. Indeed, the higher the opportunities of moving up in the corps and moving out of it the greater the prestige it carries both within the civil service and the larger society.

Each corps has grades, the number of which may vary depending on the nature of functions performed and other factors. The Conseil d'Etat and Cour des Comptes have four grades each. The Inspection General des Finance has five.

Recruitment and training

In France, recruitment and training have been combined in the same institution and in this respect mention must be made of the Ecole National d'Administration (ENA) and Ecole Polytechnique, both government controlled bodies. The ENA, founded in 1945, carries out both recruitment and training for the higher civil service. Admission is governed by competition which includes written, oral and physical tests. The subjects are political science, economics and social history, political economy, political institutions, French administration, modern languages and physical training. The optional subjects include mathematics, statistics and science.

Once admitted to the ENA, the course begins with a year's

stay, usually in a prefecture. The student is attached to the prefect's office as an assistant observing the work of the office, handling files, attending meetings, etc. He spends some time in sub-prefectures and in the local office of the various ministries. He is given a report to do on some subject that is not only valuable to him as a training exercise but in itself useful to the prefect; copies are sent to the ENA with the prefect's comments for assessments and markings. At the end of the stay the prefect completes a report on the student. This phase of training is regarded as particularly profitable during the whole course of training.

The remaining 18 months of the training are mainly spent at the ENA. There is no full-time teaching staff. The instructors are mainly themselves civil servants, with some university teachers and others. There are few formal lectures and classes. Most of the teaching is in discussion groups. Considerable use is made of group projects; a study group is required to prepare a report on a current topic, and has to collect the required material by visiting ministries and other organisations. The main fields of study are judicial and administrative matters, economic studies, international relations and social questions. Statistics, public accountancy, business management and organisation and methods are also included in the syllabus, and the students are expected to improve their practical grasp of their first foreign language and to acquire the elements of a second. The content of the course is under constant review to keep it up to date. Everyone does the same subjects, including those going into the diplomatic service (and indeed, it is not known for certain who they are until the end of the course). Members of the diplomatic service, therefore, get a grounding in international questions. Thus, the course at the ENA is not broken down according to the specialisms that students will pursue as civil servants. Until 1958, it was divided into four sections, specialising in administration, economics, social affairs and international questions, but since the practice of allocating to corps and to ministries by order of merit was already being followed, there was necessarily no relation between the specialisation a man pursued and his allocation.

Towards the end of a course there is a second stage of about two months, the *stage d'enterprise*, spent in a private firm, some of them quite small. The firms are asked to give the students real work and responsibility.

Marks are awarded throughout the course, and these determine a

final order of merit which is announced at the end of the training. At the same time a list is published of the vacancies available in the civil service which is equal in number to the students graduating. A student with the least marks has no choice, and takes the last vacancy left.

In European countries, where administration has a formal and juridical character, the civil service is traditionally manned by people educated in subjects appropriate for administration as a formal art; frequently by persons with a legal background. In contrast, British administration has been informal and pragmatic, and a formal education in administration is not required. The achievement of the French civil service with the ENA, imitated in varying degrees by some other European countries, has broken away from the traditional mould and created a vocational education for a modern civil service. Administration remains an important subject at the ENA because French administration still has a formal and juridical framework but it is combined with the outward-looking disciplines relevant to the work of a civil service with a positive role in modern society.

The Ecole Polytechnique conducts training for the higher technical corps of the civil service, and also for the armed forces, research and the private sector. There are about 300 vacancies a year, preparation for which is done in special classes in higher mathematics and special mathematics in about thirteen *lycees* in the country. The competition consists of written, oral and physical tests, in mathematics, physics, chemistry, French composition, general education, a foreign language and physical training.

In the two-year course a large element of formal lectures survives than at the ENA, probably because of the subjects taught, but nevertheless they only amount to individual and group projects based on real problems, and free study. The syllabus is the same for all students, consisting of courses in mathematics, economics and a modern language. Again, marks are given throughout which go to make up the final order of merit at the end of the two years.

Critique of the higher civil service in France

France is generally viewed as being the classic example of centralisation; 'Paris over the centuries sucked the blood out of the provinces', so goes the saying. Since the 1980s, the hold of Paris over the provinces has been relaxed and France, today, has decentralised governmental functions, powers, and resources

resulting in a reconstruction of its local government institutions. But the basic grain of the French political and administrative culture continues to be centralist. The roots of French centralisation, moreover, go back to the early days of the country's history—as far back as the Roman times, but coming nearer to our time the centralist credo dates from Napoleon, who imposed the authority of Paris over the rest of the country much more strictly and pervasively. Napoleon had France divided into ninety-one departments (or districts) rather arbitrarily, and at the head of each department he appointed a prefect, who was a strong ruler accountable to Paris virtually for everything. This ethos has deeply influenced the country's psyche. While centralisation has its advantages, the regions have not been able, as a consequence, to develop their distinctive personality. The development of railways in France has been like a spider's web around Paris: quite often, one has to pass through Paris through this spider's web while going from one point to another. Similarly, many industries have come up near Paris to take advantage of the sources of finance and the powerful lobbies of ministries, which are all located and operate from there. Intellectual resources are also centred in Paris. Even when new industries are set up, they come up mostly within 150 miles of Paris: a subtle homage to Parisian hegemony.

Civil Service in Japan

Japan was a feudal society until the later part of the nineteenth century. It was in the year 1868, the year of the Meiji Restoration, that the country set itself on the path to modernisation and the prime responsibility for consummating the change fell on the bureaucracy, an institution which owes its existence to the Meiji Restoration. Ever since, the bureaucracy has played a central role in the shaping and direction of the nation's public affairs. The task of transformation of feudal Japan into a modern nation-state fell primarily and substantially on the shoulder of the bureaucracy. The defeat of Japan in the Second World War (1939–45) brought about far-reaching changes in all walks of life including its institutions. The occupation authorities who virtually ruled Japan from 1945 till 1952 either dismantled or redesigned the major institutions of the state, but, surprisingly, left the bureaucracy unscathed. Indeed, the bureaucracy, one of the three principal sinners in the eyes of the victors, the other two being the military and the *zaibatsus*, was not only retained but was also deployed for

implementing the policies and programmes of the victorious allied authorities. Its powers, as a direct consequence of this strategy, were considerably enlarged and its prestige too shored up. A large part of credit for raising the country virtually from the debris of war to being the third highest economic power in the democratic world rightly goes to the Japanese bureaucracy. Behind the economic miracle wrought by Japan so soon after its defeat in 1945 stands the country's bureaucracy. It has been the prime instrument of economic development in the country by formulating priorities backed by appropriate policies and programmes but at the same time not letting itself emerge as a direct manager. It conceives of development, but the private sector is the acknowledged instrument. This is a much more skilful exercise.

The importance and prestige of the bureaucracy emerge from its functions as well as from the strategy of carrying them out. It is the originator of most laws although these are formally enacted by the Diet. That most laws originate in the executive is a universal phenomenon and needs no elaboration. Bureaucracy administers the laws, which bestows discretion and power on it. Besides, all sectors of the society including private industry have necessarily to operate within the prescribed rules and regulations. This makes many approach the civil service for getting things done. Bureaucracy, moreover, disburses numerous kinds of grants and subsidies which, too, makes the potential beneficiaries approach its members with fear and respect. Furthermore, bureaucracy in Japan offers to the society something like the 'vision of the decade' after carrying out an intensive analysis of what should be the next step for the society. By doing so, it charts out, as it were, the economic destiny of the Japanese society. Its prestige has further increased by what is known as 'gysei shido', or its power to provide administrative guidance to business and industry in the country. Few bureaucracies are charged with a similar role in the free world.

Japan has always prized *fukoku*, (economic power) above everything else; a nation maintains its independence and autonomy in its decision-making through economic power, and the bureaucracy has always regarded it as its solemn obligation to enhance the country's economic power. Bureaucracy has thus a distinct mission to perform, and this consciousness is shared both by the civil servants and the society.

The Japanese civil service as originally designed bore the marks of the German practice but after

the Second World War it came under the influence of the United States. The present civil service has in its structure and practices the impact of American thinking. But the foreign influence got ably adapted to the national needs and aspirations, and today, the civil service betrays little signs of the so-called occupation culture. What Japan has at present is a civil service completely indigenous and run with efficiency, devotion and professionalism. It possesses a high degree of competence, is imbued with a sense of mission and is capable of steering the national affairs to the goal of progress and prosperity. It is deeply conscious of self-identity and reflects easy self-confidence in its actions. It, moreover, embodies all the best attributes of the Japanese society such as the work ethic, motivation, organisational loyalty, colleagueship, etc. In view of Japan's heightened economic stature in the world, the civil service is gradually internationalising its perspective.

Choosing a career

Students preferring a career in the higher civil service generally come through a distinct education path. They possess the advantage of having peers with whom they have attended a good high school which has a reputation for its students' gaining admissions to the reputed universities such as Tokyo University. A gradual focussing occurs during the student's stay in the university. He comes into contact with his seniors in the department and discusses his career prospects with them. He may take advice from his teacher also. He joins various study circles and clubs where he may meet his other colleagues equally desirous of entering the civil service or seniors already in the civil service with whom he can discuss career problems.

Having finally made up his mind, the student begins his special preparations in order to qualify for the Senior Principal A Class Entrance Examination, the most prestigious service in Japan. In Japan, particularly in Tokyo, a number of privately operated preparatory schools impart teaching to desirous candidates, covering the syllabus and even including instructions on the technology of the competitive examination. Such coaching shops are reportedly doing brisk business, but no student publicly admits to having attended one. According to one: 'The study for the undergraduate level in the law faculty is nearly adequate for passing the competitive examination, for which I made what you call "special preparation" for four months. I consulted my senior about my studies and he is now in the

MITI. He was my senior in the high school also'.

Recruitment

The civil service is recruited through a competitive examination, and Japan holds sixteen competitive examinations to this end. Six of these sixteen examinations are of the college graduate level whereas others are of the junior college and senior high school levels. Of all these examinations the Principal Senior A-Class Examination—broadly comparable to India's examination for the Indian Administrative Service—is the most prestigious and the brightest graduates of the country aspire to succeed in it. Every year, over 45,000 college graduates sit for it to qualify for nearly 1,200 vacancies. This implies that only one out of over 37 graduates will succeed, which indicates the stiffness of the competition.

The competitive examination for the Principal Senior A-Class category comprises the preliminary test and the main examination (which includes a specialised-knowledge test and a personality test) followed by an overall test. It is administered by the National Personnel Authority, an autonomous body responsible for personnel administration in the government and which may be likened to India's public service commission as well as the Ministry of Personnel; the functions performed by the latter two are carried out by the National Personnel Authority which has been created by the constitution and which submits an annual report of its activities to the Diet.

The Principal Senior A-Class Entrance Examination is open to the 21–33 age group, but in practice persons in the younger age group sit for it soon after passing their graduation. In Japan, both private administration and public administration recruit their personnel at a young age soon after their education, but, horizontal mobility is not encouraged. The higher age limit (33 years) would suggest recruitment of persons with some work experience, but this is generally not the case. The college graduates who are below 25 years or so sit for the examination and on passing join the civil service as their career. Selected candidates join particular ministries, and they continue in their respective ministries all their lives and occupy in course of time, all policy-making positions in it. This is different from the arrangement in India under which the members of the Indian Administrative Service may move from one ministry to another.

The recruitment and selection processes in the Japanese personnel administration combine elements of achievement and

ascription in equal measure. The aspiring candidates pass an open competitive examination, which is a two-stage one; the general test, and the specialised-knowledge test. This, broadly has been the pattern of competitive examination for the IAS and allied services in India since 1979. This test is both qualifying and competitive but the personality test is given the veto to reject a candidate, no matter how high his score is in the written examination. The cases of rejection are not so many to pose a problem, but are not non-existent either. The National Personnel Authority finally prepares the list of successful candidates, but the power of appointment is vested in the ministries of the government. Thus, each ministry holds its own interview to fill its requirements. Thus, the appearance of one's name in the list of successful candidates is not enough; the final voice rests with the individual ministries where a variety of influences dictate decision-making. To get allotted to the ministry one favours, hawking for the position is a common phenomenon. It also happens in the process that some luckless candidates may remain even unappointed though their names might have figured in the successful candidates' list announced by the NPA. Such a situation may not pose a problem in view of a near absence of unemployment in the country. In India, the recruiting agency, the public service commission, enjoys the power of certification, the role of the executive being to select the civil servants from this list. Employment is an extremely sensitive issue in India, and public opinion does not favour any powers of discretion being bestowed upon the executive in this regard. This is not to imply that the individual ministries in Japan necessarily have baser motives when finalising appointments. Each ministry is keen to appoint those it considers to be the best among those offering themselves for jobs. But answers to questions such as 'Which place are you from? Which discipline are you from?, Which university are you from?' etc., appear to subtly affect the final appointments.

The selected candidates are first sent for a one-week institutional training at the government-controlled Institute of Public Administration, but it is the on-the-job training which perhaps receives the highest importance in Japan. A member of the higher civil service starts his career as a clerk and remains in a clerical position for the first four years. During this period he is supervised and guided by other colleagues in the ministry. This gives him a good grounding on the work done at lower levels in the

administration. But the rate of promotion is fast, and he comes to occupy a middle-level position at an early age. He regularly attends specially organised seminars, and is even sent to a western university for higher studies. He reads journals and other literature falling within his area of work, and keeps himself up-to-date. Besides, there is an institutionalised flow of information to him. Because of the authority and power of the ministry, information automatically flows to him. Moreover, as he stays in the same ministry all his life he acquires a deep knowledge of the subject matter of his area.

Mention has been made of a civil servant continuing in the same ministry all his life. This is a notable feature of Japan's civil service. This makes him a specialist in the work of his ministry. This is also conducive to rational decision-making for he stays long enough to reap the fruits of any bad decisions. Of course, he may be sent on deputation to other organisations such as the ministry of finance, National Personnel Authority, etc., to broaden his mental horizons. But before long be returns to the mother ministry.

Another noteworthy feature of the Japanese bureaucracy is the system of seniority-based promotion. And, Japan defines seniority not in individual terms but in terms of the year of entry into the civil service. What this implies is that if the intake of fresh recruits in a ministry is, say, twenty-five in a year, all these twenty-five would have the same seniority, and all of them are promoted more or less at the same time. This is different from India where the seniority is dependent on the rank one has secured in the list of successful candidates in a particular year. The principle of seniority is defended on the ground that it is conducive to security, harmony and goodwill in the organisation. There is, of course, the performance appraisal of each civil servant, but it is an empty ritual. Seniority is solidly installed in the Japanese civil service.

The system of 'collective' seniority is not entirely without embarrassment. The administrative pyramid may accommodate all, who entered in a particular year, up to a certain level, but inevitably some have to be squeezed out when promotion to senior positions, which invariably are fewer in number than the claimants. The civil servant who hopes to get promoted to such senior levels must possess abilities of many sorts, and mere intellectual excellence may not be a sufficient qualification for such heights. He must have demonstrated his managerial and negotiating skills and been rated highly by his

superior officer. It is customary in Japan to consult the outgoing predecessor, albeit informally, on matters of promotion of his governors. Promotions are generally made on the basis of broad consensus but the administrative vice-chairman (equivalent to the secretary to the Government of India) plays a definite role in the appointment of his successor, and he along with the bureau chiefs greatly influence promotions at the bureau level. Since all the eligible functionaries have worked in the same ministry all their life profiles are well known. But coincidence and sheer luck are also not unimportant in the final decision. If someone has the good luck of working directly under the administrative vice-minister in the past and has impressed him with his work he inevitably carries a good image. The general image of the civil servant built up over years of service, familiarity with those advising on promotions, especially the director of the personnel division in the ministry, the opinion of the immediate superior and the personal relationship cultivated by a civil servant with the superior officers help in the promotions to the top levels. Other factors helpful in this regard are the aspiring person's estimation by his peer groups and even subordinate staff, and the clout that he has with the influential persons in the hierarchy as well as in the ruling party, etc. Equally, if not more crucial, is the political acceptability of the civil servant, especially when promotion to the position of the administrative vice-minister is made. In short, several factors—logical, illogical, coincidental, incidental—shape the path to the top positions in the administrative hierarchy.

It is significant that those who do not get promoted do not as a rule stay in the government but resign and leave the service of the 850,000 civil servants on the regular payroll, 30,500 either 'resign' or 'retire' from the public service each year, which means that the annual rate of retirement from the public service is 3.6 per cent. In Japan, there is yet no statutory fixed age of retirement for public servants except for the members of the Educational Service. Thus, only the members of the Educational Service 'retire', other 'resign'. When one has to retire is governed by conventions which are powerfully entrenched in the Japanese civil service. Thus, it happens that when promotions to senior positions are announced those left out resign and leave. That many resign when their peers get promoted hardly constitutes news in Japan; on the other hand, if someone dares defy convention, the mass media lose no

time in publicising it. Most civil servants resign at the age of fifty-five though the age of retirement is statutorily fixed at sixty, today. It has also to be remembered that the Japanese longevity is at present around seventy-eight years of age.

But retirement of the Japanese bureaucracy does not mean an end to one's career. Rather, it may herald the beginning of a second career for the civil servants. Many of them join private business and industry and this is particularly the case with the civil servants who retire from the ministries of finance and of international trade and industry. Some take to active politics and generally prefer to join the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party. It is not without significance that nearly twenty-five per cent of the Dietmen belonging to the ruling LDP are former bureaucrats. Many others obtain employment in organisations and agencies under the control of the government. What is more, the mother ministries help the civil servants actively in securing employment after retirement.

Other attributes of the civil service

But the inflexibility of the civil service structure with the higher positions reserved for the careermen restricts the promotional prospects of others, many of whom are no inferior to the 'elitos' (as members passing the Principal Senior A-Class Entrance Examination are called) in regard to educational attainments. In spite of these facts it is surprising that the general morale of the non-elite categories of public personnel especially those working at Kasumigasaki (the headquarters of the Japanese government) remains rather high.

One should also not miss the generalist character of the Japanese bureaucracy. The hegemonic role of the 'careermen' thwarts the initiative and potential of the specialists who are joining the civil service in larger numbers. Their participation in the policy-making processes is less than optimal as top-level positions are all reserved for the elitos. The specialists are not generally given opportunities to gather administrative experience. Even in technical ministries the divisional and bureau chiefs are in most cases generalists. There are, however, exceptions in the ministries of construction, transportation, agriculture, forestry and fisheries and science and technology agencies.

Coming to the syllabus of the competitive examination one notices heavy emphasis given to legal studies. Japan has always considered legal knowledge as an essential qualification for its higher bureaucracy, thanks to the

European, especially German influence imbibed soon after the Meiji Restoration. While legal knowledge is not to be depreciated, the syllabus of the competitive examination does not sufficiently realise the importance of the social sciences like sociology, psychology, etc. As a result, the Japanese bureaucracy has occasionally given the wrong impression of being much too legal-minded. An American scholar has, for instance, commented: 'The safe official, before acting, looks for specific authorisation in the laws or regulations. Regardless of the emergency nature of specific situations or social necessity, he construes the absence of specific legal authority as full justification for failure to act, and regardless of commonsense, he follows regulations to the letter. The point to be remembered is that a modern civil service stands in need of varied skills and competences, and the period necessary for accumulating these is steadily increasing.' Yet, the Japanese civil service seems to have set its eye on the undergraduates. It would, moreover, be desirable to incorporate in the syllabus of the competitive test as many social sciences as possible. A civil servant is today rightly called a 'social scientist in action'.

As civil servants in Japan stay in the same ministry for all their lives they acquire an expert knowledge of the area of their work. But at the same time the government comes to suffer from a degree of compartmentalisation. Bureaucratic conflicts are thus reported to be severe and prolonged and this owes itself as much to the departmentalisation of the career pattern, resulting in strong departmental identification of the civil servants, as to the order in which the ministries select their personnel. The graduating university plays a critical role in actual appointments and in the process the graduates of the University of Tokyo have a greater advantage. This is particularly so with the glamorous ministries. This breeds interpersonal problems, which serves only to fan and aggravate inter-ministerial conflicts. In the general context of such bureaucratic rivalries between the ministries, the role of the political executive becomes very crucial. An influential minister may tilt the balance in favour of his ministry. The ministry's bureaucracy, thus, like a strong politician has a political chief to bolster up its bargaining position vis-a-vis other segments of the government.

Such a placement policy in Japan makes the civil servants well conversant with the work under their jurisdiction. This is totally unlike the practice in India where a higher civil servant may be

posted to a job completely unrelated and unlinked with the preceding ones. He consequently takes time to understand his new responsibilities, but by the time he acquires a measure of proficiency he is due for a transfer elsewhere. The overall result is that, very much like a rolling stone, he gathers no moss, which inevitably produces its own logic. He lacks professionally adequate comprehension of his job which he tends to cover up by becoming supercilious, rigid and uncommunicative in his dealings with the people and which accentuates his dependence on the subordinate clerical personnel. The latter are the permanent fixtures in the organisation and, in any case, outstay him. The superior officer cannot exercise active control and supervision over them because of his short stay as well as relative ignorance of the work under his charge. Moreover, he hardly develops any stake in the organisation and does not stay long enough to reap the fruits of his decisions and actions.

Elitism of the civil service

The civil service of Japan is highly elitist, drawn as it is from a rather narrow educational base in the country. Its members mostly come from ten or so universities, most of them being national ones and nearly half of them emerge from a single faculty. Its members are recruited through a fairly stiff competitive examination, and this single examination entitles them to hold all policy-making positions in the government. It is only by qualifying in this test that one can join this exclusive group whose members occupy all middle- and senior-level positions in the government. And, what is more, even passing this examination may not be sufficient. A lower category public servant may find it extremely difficult to aspire for this category even if he qualifies in the Principal Senior A-Class Examination; he may not be appointed, at least in the more prestigious ministries. Serving in the lower positions in the government is in practice viewed as a disqualification by the ministries in whose hands rest the final appointments. No lateral entry into this group is permitted nor are promotions from subordinate services allowed. The Principal Senior A-Class is thus distinctly set apart from the rest, with inter-stream mobility completely forbidden, and besides it towers over others in no unmistakable terms. It constitutes a superior caste, and a member belonging to it is informally called an 'elito' or 'career-man'.

In Japan, the public sector employment system is closely

structured to the educational pattern, which has the effect of making it a closed-door system. Candidates at the three levels of education may enter the civil service at the corresponding levels and once one has entered a certain level he has to move along the same conveyor belt all his career. The lower level in public administration requires high school qualification and is open to the age group of 17–22 years. The intermediate category of services require a junior college degree and is open to the 19–26 age group while those who have taken the bachelor's degree and are in the 21–33 age group may enter the higher civil service at an early age and treat it as a career. Those who enter are closer to the minimum age, thus implying that the apparently higher age prescribed under the rules carries no practical significance in Japan. In India, on the other hand, the higher age of 28 (reduced to 26 since 1986) in operation since the eighties has affected the recruitment inasmuch as the average age of entry into the higher civil service has gone up. In short, the recruitment rules are seen in practice to so operate as to inevitably reflect the influence of social and bureaucratic values of the country concerned.

The bureaucratic elitism finds itself further reinforced by the educational and employment systems in Japan. Employment at an early age is the practice in the country and it is neither common nor acceptable to change employers, employment being for a lifetime. Therefore, most persons join the civil service at an age between 22–23 years when they are just fresh from the university. In the U.S.A. and Canada, persons of a higher age group and having work experience in more than one organisation tend to come to the civil service. Even in India, a number of new recruits to the higher civil service have begun to bring with them some work experience, which is attributed to the higher age of entry into the civil service.

The elitism of this higher service is a fact, but not an embarrassment to Japan. The careermen, undoubtedly elitist, belong to a society which is emotionally integrated and cohesive and has a centripetal ethos. Japanese society is highly homogeneous with few parallels in equally large-sized societies in the world. This homogeneity is also reflected in the lifestyle of the people which is generally monastic. Secondly, the Japanese are a highly mutually reciprocative society, bound together by a network of understandings, obligations, duties and responsibilities, and each member is expected to be governed by them. These obligations are never

stated very explicitly but are universally understood. So overwhelming is their influence that an infringement of them singles out and isolates the person. Even a perception of any violation on the part of an individual is likely to make him feel morally guilty. In Japan, one may note, most suicides are committed for perceived violations of such social, unwritten codes. All these factors have an effect of toning down the adverse consequences of elitism. This is further moderated by the economic development of the society with the middle class constituting eighty-five per cent of the population.

This is mentioned here to disginguish the higher civil service of Japan from its Indian counterpart. Members of the higher civil service of India come from a cluster of universities such as the Delhi University and Jawaharlal Nehru University along with Allahabad, Punjab, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay Universities—and has a pronounced urban background. Indian society is not homogeneous, consisting as it does of divisions which are based on caste, religion, regionalism, etc. and which are thus more rigid. Besides, the higher bureaucrats in India mostly hail from a middle and upper middle class, urban background. The middle class in India constitutes today, between fifteen to twenty per cent of the total population. This not only makes the bureaucracy unrepresentative of the society but also makes it a very special group in it, thriving on a parallel infrastructural network and very vividly and clearly distinguishable from the rest of the society. These are among the attributes which make the bureaucracy become inward-looking and self-justificatory.

Mention has been made of 'over qualified' persons entering the intermediate and junior categories of service, but most who enter the Principal Senior A-Class possess only a bachelor's degree and are around 22–23 years of age. In India, on the other hand, most members of the higher civil services enter with a master's degree and some even with a doctorate. In Japan it is considered to be of the upmost importance that one gets on to the escalator at an early age and those who defy the custom may not find it possible to jump on to it at all. Society in Japan is presently in the midst of massive change, and the economic development which has been underway may set up a new equation between those who govern and the governed. Whether the nation's talent would continue to flow to the public services when the government loses some of its power and influence is yet to be seen.

The same changes may affect the flow of the present level of personnel into non-career services in the future. It is an open secret that the efficiency of Japan's civil service system is hinged not inconsiderably on the calibre and commitment of persons working in the subordinate positions in the government although their pay scale and promotional prospects are not very attractive. The non-careermen are the walking encyclopaedias, so to say, possessing deep knowledge of matters falling within their charge. The future may witness some change in the level and quality of intake at the intermediate and junior levels of the civil service, subjecting the system to pressure if the present framework is not induced to shed at least some of its inflexibility.

This kind of inflexibility is seen in many other areas of administration also entailing possible dysfunctionalities for the system. In Japan, all public servants are governed by the same set of laws, rules and regulations, and no account is taken of the differences in the nature and type of different functions performed. Thus, it may be justified in restricting the political rights of say, the administrative vice-ministers but at present the same rule is applied in the case of the car drivers, which seems needless, according to some, even harmful, to the larger interests of politics. The industrial relations in the civil service are at present regulated rather too rigidly and narrowly. What is more, the country's judiciary, too, interprets them too mathematically and inflexibly. Labour management relations are likely to come under increasing strain.

In short, the kind of entrance examination one comes through determines once and for all a person's place in the hierarchy and no amount of hard work or competence can alter his career. This smacks of rigidity, and is so defined as to favour the 'careermen'. The case system in Japan's civil service is strongly entrenched and what is even more surprising is that it is not viewed by the society as a problem. It appears that not many people wish to change it; one apparently wants to modify it.

Future prospects

The future may perhaps find Japan's civil service under stress, which may originate from several quarters. Modern society is becoming increasingly complex and the problems which await solutions demand the harnessing of highly specialised knowledge of many disciplines, and many interests. Advisory and consultative committees are presently set up in public administration to gather such knowledge, but this device is

weak and uncertain, and is no effective answer to the problem. This is an institutional problem which most bureaucracies face today, and the Japanese civil service appears to be no exception.

The present civil service is critically dependent for its efficiency on the availability of competent personnel at both the higher and subordinate levels of administration. Talented young persons have been joining the 'career service' for the status and prestige it confers on them, which compensates for the not very high salary. Society in Japan is presently in the midst of massive change, and the economic development which has been underway may set up a new equation between the governors and the governed. Whether the nation's talent would continue to flow to the public services when the government loses, some of its power and influence is yet to be seen. The same changes may affect the flow of the present level of personnel into non-career services in the future. It is an open secret that the efficiency of Japan's civil services system has hinged not inconsiderably on the calibre and commitment of persons working in the subordinate positions in the government although their pay-scale and promotional prospects are not very attractive. The non-careermen are the walking encyclopaedias, so to say, possessing deep knowledge of matters falling within their charge. The future may witness some change in the level and quality of intake at the intermediate and junior levels of the civil service, subjecting the system to pressure if the present framework is not induced to shed part at least of its inflexibility. This kind of inflexibility is seen in many other areas of administration also entailing possible dysfunctionalities for the system. In Japan, all public servants are governed by the same set of laws, rules and regulations, and no account is taken of the differences in the nature and type of different functions performed. Thus, it may be justified in restricting the political rights of say, the administrative vice-ministers but at present the same rule is applied in the case of the car drivers, which seems needless, according to some even harmful, to the larger interests of politics. The industrial relations in the civil service are at present regulated rather too rigidly and narrowly. What is more, the country's judiciary, too, interprets them too mathematically and inflexibly. Labour management relations are likely to come under increasing strain when Japan enters the competitive stage of an economic plateau and democratisation processes get further strengthened.

The parliamentary form of government, which Japan has adopted, puts the ultimate authority of policy-making on the minister and cabinet, and the civil service is ordained to advise the minister in his responsibilities and administer policies and decisions. This is the theory, but its application is fraught with problems of various kinds. Indeed, the politician-civil servant relationship constitutes one of the knottiest problems in many countries. But not in Japan, at any rate so far. The Japanese civil service is monolithic in nature, and jealously guards its power and status. Generally speaking, the minister depends on the advice of the bureaucrats, and his interference—in the sense the term is used in mainly democratic countries—is minimal. This also contributes to the morale of the civil service. But the future may see a certain restructuring of the equilibrium to the dismay and disadvantage of the bureaucracy. A shift of power from the bureaucracy to the politician appears to be occurring in certain fields of public administration. The civil service may thus have to adjust itself to a new equilibrium.

The foregoing discussion discloses that Japan's civil service bears features, some of which are likely to raise demands for their rectification in other political settings. But in Japan they are not viewed as problems nor is there any sustained public discussion about them. This feeling of unconcern may perhaps be related to the local environment. The meteoric economic progress made by Japan since the fifties has kept the society's attention occupied with larger matters, mostly of growth and development. When the GNP is registering fast increases no one has the time or the inclination to diagnose the civil service, more so in Japan in whose development this institution has played such a recognisedly central role. The response system to the bureaucracy is almost surely to be different in a country where unemployment is widespread and where most seek jobs in government. Culturally also, the Japanese show acceptance of many social, including governmental arrangements and practices, and such a disposition is part of the larger deference-oriented culture of the people.

Civil Service in Mughal Times

The 'civil service' of the Mughal Empire was known as the *mansabdari* system. The door to the civil service during Akbar's reign was open to Hindus but most of the officials were Muslims —to be more precise Persians and Afghanis. In *Ain-i-Akbari* there is a listing of 415 high-level public

officials of which only 51 were Hindus. These were almost all Rajputs whom it was Akbar's considered policy to conciliate. There were only two Brahmins. The Hindustani Mussalmans were very few in the higher ranks of the army and the civil service.

The public service as a rule operated directly under the emperor. The recruitment of an official rested on the judgment of the emperor. A modern public administration makes a distinction between those who work on the civil side and those who perform military duties. But Mughal administration maintained no such distinction and the personnel were transferable from one side to another. The mansabdari system was military in its origin and bore a military character. Appointments were graded on a military scale borrowed from Persia. Civil servants were called *mansabdars*, that is, the commanders of so many horsemen. The lowest grade was 'commanders of ten' going up to 'commanders of ten thousand', the number indicating the quota of troops that the officials were supposed to furnish in war. The highest post open to persons not of royal blood carried a maximum salary of Rs 30,000 a month. Sir George Dunbar writes: 'Officials were paid either in cash or by the jagir system which Akbar tried unsuccessfully to end. The pay was enormous but charges on salaries were heavy and the later emperors were in the habit of withholding a varying number of months' pay during the year. Thrift was not encouraged, for the Emperor was heir to the estates of his officers; appearances had to be kept up; bribery may be said to have been essential; and jagirs were an uncertain source of income.'

Dunbar, Sir George: *A History of India*, vol. I, 1943, London, Nicholson & Watson, 1943, p. 201.

Civil Service Neutrality

Neutrality is a hallmark of the civil service in India as in the United Kingdom. Civil servants enjoy permanence of tenure. They are recruited in the 21–30 age group and remain in the service enjoying a lifelong term, retiring at the prescribed age of sixty. But the ministers whom they necessarily serve are birds of passage with no fixity of term. They come and go but the civil servants under them continue until they superannuate. Ministers are political appointees. Government servants are required to serve whoever occupies the minister's office. This, they can do only when they enjoy the trust and confidence of the ministers. The civil servants not only implement the policies and decisions made by the political

executive but they also advise the latter on policy- making. This role they can perform only when they observe complete neutrality in regard to political matters. Civil servants must not express their political opinions: they must be politically neutral.

Neutrality, the distinguishing mark of the civil service, does not mean apathy or indifference towards programmes under implementation. A civil servant must be committed to the constitution and its philosophy and values. He must have programmatic commitment. Neutrality means that a civil servant must not have any explicit political alignment: he must not identify himself with political parties and their factions and groups; he must not personalise his relationships.

Political neutrality does not mean that civil servants do not hold political views and opinions. As citizens they have a right to their opinions but must never express them. They cannot take part in political campaigns, or join political parties. The only right which they enjoy is that they can cast their vote on election day. This neutrality equips them with a capacity to serve whoever comes as a minister. They serve all ministers with equal efficiency—or 'contempt' as a wag put it!

Such an attribute of the civil service is ably described by Great Britain's Masterman Committee on the Political Activities of Civil Servants (1949): 'The characteristic which has long been recognised ... and extolled as a special virtue is the civil servant's impartiality and in his public capacity, a mind untinged by political pre-possession'. The political neutrality of the civil service was respected by the political leadership. This is because political leadership was the most to gain from civil service neutrality. Ministers had complete trust and confidence in the civil servants who would carry out their duties professionally, untinged by political likes and dislikes.

A civil servant would observe neutrality if he was confident that his legitimate career interests would remain protected and would not be subject to political manipulation.

This culture has not survived in independent India for a long time. Today, the sad fact is that civil servants by and large have ceased to be professional. They give advice to their political masters which the latter would like to hear in the hope of getting favours and are duly rewarded also. Civil servants have aligned themselves to parties, factions and individuals. The result is that a new minister appoints his own favourites to important posts. Civil

service postings remind one of the game of musical chairs. As a result, competent offices are sidelined; supersessions are common; politicisation of the civil service is more marked as one goes down the governmental ladder. The situation is really distressing at the state level.

This must be put to an end. Personnel practices like postings, promotions, etc., must be governed by established rules and regulations and not by lobbying and *shifarishes*. Extensions must as a rule be avoided. The need of the hour is to ensure impartiality, objectivity and integrity in the civil service; these three prime virtues are facing extinction in the India of today.

Civil Society

The term 'civil society' has a fairly long history but finds no mention in early political science studies, having originated later. Aristotle, the father of political science, is absolutely silent about the use of the term, apparently believing that civil society was coterminous with the state and that the civil society and the state were inter-changeable terms. The term first originated in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century and enjoyed a remarkable career. But it fell into obscurity in the later part of the nineteenth century. Happily, it has attracted widespread attention since the later part of the twentieth century.

The concept of civil society (*Burgerhche Gesellschaft*) was first used by George Wilhelm Freidrich Hegel (1770–1831) in his *Philosophy of Right* published in 1821 in which he discusses civil society, law, the bureaucracy, the king, war, etc., his objective being the restoration of harmony and overcoming of the contradiction immanent within a liberal state. According to him civil society refers to organised bodies that are intermediate between the state and the family. He described it as a stage in the dialectical development from the family to the state. He made a distinction between the state and civil society. Civil society is separate from the state, which, as we know, has its own organs of governance. The state is equipped with military, police, legal and administrative organs. The civil society is different and comprises non-state institutions which are market-regulated and voluntarily organised. A civil society is autonomous although clearly subject to the state and its governmental authority.

The state is a political community pursuing national goals through a central government. The civil society is an aspect of the modern state. A civil society is an arena in which the individual

legitimately gratifies his self-interest, develops his individuality, learns the value of group action, social solidarity and dependence of his welfare on others. All these educate him for citizenship and prepare him for participation in the political arena of the state.[1]

According to Hegel, the dominant characteristics of a civil society are particularity and subjectivity, that is, self-interest and personal choice. In a civil society, men interact with the minimum of ethical or legal constraints. It implies the existence of various civil and economic rights such as, the right of association, the right to a trial by jury, the right to promote group interests. It articulates structure which provides duties also.

Hegel analyses the dynamics of the economic system of the bourgeois society. Here, he anticipates Karl Marx and says that modern industrial production tends to an increasing division of labour and along with it the creation of a proletariat. If the process of production is left to itself, the proletariat will be impoverished by low wages and uncertainty of employment. The proletariat will also be affected by the narrowness and monotony of work. The impoverishment will lead to the crisis of over-production: the poor people do not have any purchasing power. Rightly does Hegel observe: 'It, hence, becomes apparent that despite an excess of wealth civil society is not rich enough, i.e. its own resources are insufficient to check excessive poverty and the creation of a penurious rabble.'[2]

The term 'civil society' one may recollect, did not emerge as a separate one until in the eighteenth century. Traditionally, 'civil society' and state were treated synonymously. Hegel was the political philosopher who separated these terms. As Steven B. Smith writes in his *Hegel's Critique of Liberalism*: 'While civil society comprehends the activity of the *Burder*, or bourgeois who as a private person engages in competitive struggles with others in the marketplace, the state is the realm of the citizen, who is related to others by certain shared ethical understandings or mutual recognition.'[3]

Political society is state, while civil society, which means the economy, caters to persons seeking the satisfaction of various wants, needs and desires. The civil society deals with the activity of the bourgeois. The state is the realm of the citizen who is related to his fellow citizens by certain shared ethical understandings. The civil society, on the other hand, deals with the activity of persons engaged in competitive struggles with each other in the

marketplace. The civil society is opposed to a political society and is divided into various classes, each with its unique outlook, interests and lifestyles. It includes the peasants, the business class and the bureaucracy, which mediates between the family, the 'natural society' and the state—an abstract entity. The state, today, has become too large and impersonal. It is, therefore, imperative that the civil society must serve as the reservoir of civic virtue and community-mindedness through its various institutions.

It is not out of the place to refer to two broad views on the nature of the state. Karl Marx regards the state as an apparatus of coercion and class oppression. On the other hand, the liberal philosophers treat the state and civil service as synonymous: according to liberal philosophy, both provide a legal and institutional framework for the pursuit of individual interests.

According to Thomas Paine, the power of the state must be restricted in favour of the civil society because within all individuals there is a natural propensity for society existing before the formation of states. This natural sociability predisposes individuals to establish peaceful and happy relations of competition and solidarily based only on reciprocal self-interest and a shared sense of mutual aid. The state is deemed a necessary evil and civil society an unqualified good.[4]

Karl Marx[5] did not share the Hegelian conception of the state. This is known to everyone. But he borrowed the anatomy of the civil society from Hegel and reduced it to economic terms. In his *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx states:

> My investigation led me to the result that the legal relations as well as the forms of the state are to be grasped neither from themselves nor from the so called general development of the human mind, the sum total of which Hegel combines... under the name 'civil society', that, however, the anatomy of civil society is to be sought in political economy.

The discussion of civil society is apt to remain incomplete without analysing, however briefly, the views of Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), the leading Marxist theoretician. Civil society, according to Gramsci, projects and protects class hegemony and supports the state. He defines civil society as follows:

> What we can do, for the moment, is to fix two major superstructural levels—the one that can be called 'civil society' that is the ensemble of organisms

commonly called 'private' and that of political society or the 'state'. These two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of 'hegemony' which the dominant group exercises throughout society, and on the other hand, to that of 'direct domination' or rule exercised through the state and the juridical government.[6]

By civil society, Gramsci means 'the political and cultural hegemony which a social group exercises over the whole of society, as the ethical content of the state'.[7] His concept of civil society is super-structural.

Gramsci developed the concept of hegemony to explain how a social and economic system can maintain its hold even when it is identified with the rule of one class over the other class, a hegemony which is not sustained by economic power or physical force alone but by persuading the other classes to accept the system of beliefs of the ruling class and share its cultural, social and moral values. Norberto Bobbio in his paper on 'Gramsci and the concept of civil society' writes that the end of the state lies in a 're-absorption of political society in civil society'. The society without a state which Gramsci calls 'regulated society', results from the enlarging of civil society, and therefore, of the hegemonic forces until all the space occupied by political society has been eliminated. The states which have existed until now are a dialectical unity of civil society and political society, of hegemony and domination.[8]

One may summarise the whole discussion in the following:

The term refers to non-governmental organisations, cooperatives and industry and trade associations and similarly organised bodies that are intermediate between the state and the family. It refers to non-state institutions. These groups cover a large space in the society. They may be social movements risen in response to local repression. Some autonomous groups have emerged as the state is perceived to have become ineffective and incapable of carrying out even its basic responsibilities. Some groups in a society have nearly always enjoyed a measure of autonomy from the state, these generally being the church, the bar and the university. The last two have actively resisted authoritarianism. The concept is an old one but has become very fashionable, particularly since the seventies. The popularity of the term perhaps owes its revival to the German philosopher, Hegel (1770–1831), who particularly in his *Philosophy of Right* (1821) extolled its advantages and even considered it as a stage of development towards an advanced state. A civil society is a

necessary basis for participation in formal political institutions and is an enthusiastic advocate of pluralism. Indeed, its identification with pluralism is so intimate that the two terms, civil society and pluralism, are almost interchangeable. Civil society advocates freedom of thought, freedom of association and is opposed to totalitarianism.

Civil society is most developed in the United States. According to one estimate, the civil society budget in the U.S.A. exceeds 300 billion dollars, with a third coming from the state through grants, contracts and fees for services. In India, the civil society has been fast growing since the seventies, at least quantitatively speaking, though the term finds no mention in the Constitution except indirectly, in the 'freedom to form associations' provision.[9]

[1]Keane, John (ed.): *Civil Society and the State*, London, Verso, 1988, p. 364.

[2]Federich, Hegel: *Philosophy of Right*, p. 245.

[3]Smith, Steven B.: *Hegel's Critique of Liberalism*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1989, p. 105.

[4]Quoted in John Keane (ed.): *Civil Society and the State*, London, Verso, 1988.

[5]Marx, Karl and F. Engels: *Collected Works*, Moscow, 1970, vol. I, p. 503.

[6]Gramsci, Antonio: *Prison Notes*, p. 239.

[7]Gramsci, Antonio: *Past and Present*, p. 1645.

[8]Keane, John (ed.): *Civil Society and the State*, London, Verso, 1988 includes Norberto Bobbio's article on 'Gramsci and the Concept of Civil Society'.

[9]Pelczynski, Z.A. (ed.): *The State and Civil Society: Studies in Hegel's Political Philosophy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Keane, John (ed.): *Civil Society and the State*, London, Verso, 1988.

Classical Organisation Theory

Classical organisation theory was the name given by Herbert Simon to traditional twentieth century theories which cover the contributions of Frederick Taylor, Max Weber, Henri Fayol, James Mooney, Luther Gulick and Lyndall Urwick.

The thinkers associated with the classical organisation theory share certain points in common. First, they view the organisation as a machine even though it consists of human beings. Just as a machine is built by certain sets of specifications, similarly, an organisation can be created according to a given design or blueprint. The classical organisation theory is thus built on a formal structure of an organisation. It has a machine approach to organisation. This is why it is called a 'machine theory' or 'formal organisation theory'. Secondly, the proponents of this theory advocated scientific principles of administration. It is

true that their search for principles differed with one another but their faith in the principles was firm and unshakeable. Taylor approached the search for scientific principles by relying on measurement and experimentation while Fayol and Gulick distilled principles from their own experience of administration. The list of specific principles they formulated naturally differed. But all are agreed that the classical organisation theory is the foundation of twentieth-century administrative thought. The emphasis here plainly was on the *machine* elements of the organisation.

Cockroach Factor

Cockroaches are insects possessing an extraordinary high degree of environmental adapatability. They have survived unchanged over a very long period of time. They can even survive a nuclear holocaust. The cockroach factor, therefore, refers to the ability of resistance to threat, hence the adaptability to any kind of change.

Collective Bargaining

Collective bargaining refers to the arrangement under which the workers' representatives sit with the management to negotiate agreements on wages, working conditions, redressal of grievances, etc. Collective bargaining obviates the need for individual workers to settle wages with the management. Under collective bargaining, workers, thus, can negotiate better terms because they possess the added strength of numbers. But a danger also lurks behind it when unscrupulous trade union leaders may strike deals with the management at the expense of the workers.

College at Fort Williams in Bengal

Lord Wellesley, the governor-general, set up a regular college, called College at Fort Williams in Bengal, in 1800 to impart education to the newly recruited civil servants in every branch of literature and science and oriental languages. It was closed in 1804. In response to a need for training of the civil servants the Haileybury College was started in England in 1806.

Commission on Organisation of the Executive Branch of the Government (The Hoover Commission, 1949)

The Commission on Organisation of the Executive Branch of the Government, popularly known as the Hoover Commission after the name of its chairman, Herbert Hoover, was set up in the U.S. in 1947. It submitted its report in 1949. The commission was established when Harry

S. Truman was the president of the United States. The major findings of the Hoover Commission (U.S.A.) are discussed below.

1. The executive branch is not organised into a workable number of major departments and agencies which the president can effectively direct, but is cut up into a large number of agencies which divide responsibility and which are too great in number for effective direction from the top.

2. The line of command and supervision from the president down through his department heads to every employee and the line of responsibility from each employee of the executive branch up to the president, had been weakened, or actually broken, in many places and in many ways.

3. The president and the heads of departments lack the tools to frame programmes and policies and to supervise their execution.

4. The federal government has not taken aggressive steps to build a corps of administrators of the highest level of ability with an interest in the programme of the government as a whole.

5. Many of the statutes and regulations that control the administrative practices and procedures of the government are unduly detailed and rigid.

6. Likewise, the budgetary processes of the government need improvement, in order to express the objectives of the government in terms of the work to be done rather than in mere classifications of expenditures.

7. The accounting methods in the executive branch require standardisation and simplification and accounting activities require decentralisation if they are to become effective tools of management and if great expense and waste are to be eliminated.

8. General administrative services for various operating agencies —such as purchasing of supplies, maintenance of records, and the operation of public buildings— are poorly organised or coordinated.

The executive office of the president

The purpose of the staff services in the president's office is not to assume operating functions or to duplicate responsibilities of the operating departments. Statutory authority over the operating department should not be vested in any staff members or staff agency of the president's office.

The head of each staff agency in the president's office should be appointed by the president without confirmation by the Senate but with that of the civil service commission. The president should not be prevented by statute from reorganising the president's office and from transferring

functions and personnel from one part of it to another.

An office of personnel should be established in the president's office.

The commission made a total of 277 recommendations of which nearly 40 per cent depended entirely on administrative action. This means that nearly 60 per cent of the recommendations demanded congressional endorsement. One must note that more than 72 per cent of the recommendations were implemented either by administrative action or by legislation. The implementation of the Hoover recommendations led to improvement in budgeting methods, record management and procurement practices. A general service administration was created in the U.S.A. to handle operation and management of public buildings. Likewise, measures to promote efficiency and economy were put into operation. If all the recommendations had been implemented, the burden on the taxpayer would have been lessened by two to three billion dollars. Expected savings, however, could not materialise as the Korean war soon broke out raising the American federal budget from $ 40 billion to $ 70 billion.

The second Hoover Commission was appointed in 1953 when Dwight D. Eisenhower was the president of the United States. It submitted its report in 1955. Its chairman was former U.S. president Herbert Hoover. The second Hoover Commission made 314 recommendations in all. But the single most significant recommendation related to the setting up of a senior civil service. In short, its report on personnel and civil service is the most momentous one. The commission noted that the government in the U.S.A. had grown from a small, simple organisation with few functions, into a huge, elaborate, amorphous grouping of more than 2,000 separate agencies each with complex problems and difficult operations, all of them employing (in the mid-fifties) nearly 2,300,000 federal employees. They formed the biggest administrative apparatus, which was also, the most complex and the most difficult to run efficiently and economically.[1]

Broadly speaking, the U.S.A. has two categories of public functionaries—political appointees, and those recruited on the basis of merit as determined by an open competitive examination or by other procedures prescribed by regulation. The political appointees, or non-career executives, function near the top levels to represent the political party in power and to support the measures to which the party is committed. The Hoover Commission

found that such policy-making executives are too few to perform the tasks allotted to them. The commission recommended strengthening this category both in quantitative and qualitative terms.

The Hoover Commission recommended the establishment of a senior civil service consisting of career administrators, selected on the basis of proved competence, to fill positions requiring a high degree of administrative competence. The members of this service should have status, rank and salary as individuals. To start with, the proposed senior civil service would have 1,500 members which could go up to 5,000 or even more in course of time. As the status, rank and the salary would attach to the individual, not to the job, it will be possible for him to move from one position to another without the danger of suffering a reduction in basic pay or status.

It is significant that the recommendation for a senior civil service for the United States was not made by the first Hoover Commission. Writing in 1949, Herman Finer observed: 'The most serious gap in the American executive branch ... is the vacuum which prevails between the political partisan amateur departmental headships and the variegated mass of career workers in Washington and the field. More than any other system of government, the United States system requires the assistance of a career administrative group linking subordinate officials, with top political management.' Finer continues:

> That group would be responsible both for the 'house keeping' conduct of the whole department pervading every bureau, carrying the line of authority through from the top management down through the bureaus to least of its servants, and simultaneously, for acting as subordinated adviser, friend and colleague on such subjects but also, on policy, as a permanent and dedicated 'brain trust', equipped with experience of the department, its need and its contribution to and colleagueship with other departments'.[2]

This criticism was noted by the second Hoover Commission and the omission was rectified.

[1]Neil Macneil and Harold Metz: *The Hoover Report 1953–55*, New York, Macmillan, 1956, p. 30.

[2]Herman Finer: 'The Hoover Commission Report Part II', in *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 64, p. 584.

Commissions

In the nineteenth century it was not entirely uncommon for the civil service posts in the

Indian public administration to be manned by personnel from various sources, chiefly military. Such personnel used to carry after their name the word 'commission' prefixed by the province from which they were appointed, e.g. the Punjab Commission, the Sind Commission, the Burma Commission. Such appointments were not repeated: as the original appointments passed by the efflux of time, the posts were filled by men drawn from the open competitive examination.

The Commission Form of Local Government

The commission form of municipal government obtains in most of the U.S. cities with populations of 5,000 or less. Under the commission form of governance, members are elected for a four-year term. One of the commissioners serves as a chairman. The commission is the deliberative body or legislative body but at the same time each commissioner also serves as an executive head of a department. The commission form is, thus, one in which both legislative and executive powers are exercised by a commission of five to nine members.

Common Pool Resources Management

Two models of resource governance are generally known to the society. One, under state control, and the second, under private control. But the answer to the question of governance should not be sought through the state or the market only. Natural resources like water, land and forests are common pool resources and must be managed by the benefitting community. A community can pool its resources for common management of, for instance, natural resources. In Kerala, there have emerged fishery cooperatives. Fishery management can admirably be entrusted to cooperatives.

Many countries nationalised their forests where, earlier, small villages had owned and regulated their local forests for generations. Villagers had exercised restraint over the rate and manner of harvesting forest products. From their point of view, 'nationalisation' was expropriation. There were other counter-effects also. Consequent on the nationalisation of forests, elaborate rules incomprehensible to villagers were issued concerning the use of the forest. Forest guards, who began to be employed to protect the forest, freely indulged in corruption. Nationalisation of forests has been, thus, disastrous.

Traditionally, these resources are managed by the government, which means centralised, indifferently motivated hierarchical

bureaucracy. The management by the career bureaucracy is highly unsatisfactory and demands have been made to entrust management of such resources directly to the beneficiaries. Participatory Irrigation Management (PIM), for instance, entrusts management of irrigation and water delivery system to the water-users themselves. The concerned farmers should form water users' associations. Many successful CPR institutions are mixtures of private-like and public-like institutions. Common Property Resources (CPR)—like natural resources such as grazing lands, forests, fisheries—are to be run and managed by the community itself.

Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management (CAPAM)

The Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management is a professional association of 51 commonwealth countries established in August 1994. Dedicated to the realisation of the 'just and honest government' it was recommended by the conference of the Commonwealth Heads of Government held at Harare, Zimbabwe in 1991. The Commonwealth is today, the world's largest and most diverse assembly of nations, next to only the United Nations. It encompasses 51 countries with a population of 1.5 billion—the CAPAM holds conferences attended by country representatives and academics and it publishes its proceedings. One such publication called *Government in Transition* has already been brought out.

Mention must also be made of the Commonwealth Secretariat at London, which has its Management and Training Services Division and which has published *Administrative and Managerial Reform in Government: A Commonwealth Portfolio of Current Good Practices*, 1993. It has also launched a series under the title 'Current Good Practices and New Developments in Public Service Management' under which it brings out country profiles of a large number of commonwealth countries. Besides, the Commonwealth Secretariat has published the following publications.

Management of the Privatization Process; *Choices in Decentralization*; *Government Information Technology Policies and Systems*; *The Changing Role of Government: Administrative Structures and Reforms*; *Successful Decentralization*; *Public Administration in Small Island States*.

Communal

In the Indian subcontinent, the word 'communal' refers to

ethnic communities intimately bound up with a religious identity and which, allegedly, put their religion above anything else including the nation.

Communist Party of India (CPI)

In 1964, the Communists in India split into the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India (Marxists) (CPI-M). The former is the less influential party, the stronger segment being the CPI-M. The CPI-M has been in power in West Bengal since 1977 and is a strong force in Kerala, competing with the Congress for power.

Company Bahadur

Personification of the East India Company.

Comparative Public Administration

Importance of a comparative approach to public administration was first emphasised by Woodrow Wilson in his essay on 'The Study of Administration' published in the *Political Science Quarterly.* Woodrow Wilson observed: 'Of ourselves, so long as we know only ourselves, we know nothing'. He elaborated, 'We can never learn either our own weaknesses or our own virtues by comparing ourselves with ourselves ... It is best on the whole to get entirely away from our own atmosphere and to be most careful in examining such systems as those of France or Germany. Seeing our own institutions through such media, we see ourselves as foreigners might see us, were they to look at us without pre-conceptions.'

Yet, the fact is that comparative public administration is essentially a post-Second World War development. This is so, as before the war most countries of Asia and Africa were the colonies of the European nations. With de-colonisation new nation-states started emerging. Comparative public administration can truly emerge only against a cross-cultural setting.

Competition Wallah

The term is applied to the members of the Indian Civil Service who entered it by the open competitive examination first held in 1955. The phrase was coined by Haileyburians to distinguish themselves from the new stream. The Haileyburians were bound together by the intimacies and *esprit de corps* fostered by their stay at the Haileybury College.

Competitive Tendering

The arrangement under which supply of goods and services are voluntarily placed to competitive tendering.

Comptroller and Auditor-General of India (CAG)

The comptroller and auditor-general is the supreme accounting and auditing authority of India, his jurisdiction extending to both the levels of government. Appointed by the president of India for a period of six years or until he reaches the age of 65, whichever is earlier, he keeps a watch on the country's financial transactions to ensure legality and propriety. The CAG exercises a check on the executive and keeps it accountable.

'Comptroller' is a French word meaning controller and means 'to check off'. The comptroller and auditor-general of India is the head of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department. He is a constitutional authority deriving his position as the auditor of the union and state government from Articles 149 to 151 of the Constitution. His duties, powers and service conditions are laid down in the Comptroller and Auditor-General's (Duties, Powers and Conditions of Service) Act, 1971. The comptroller and auditor-general of India:

1. Audits the receipts and expenditure of the Government of India and of the state governments. His jurisdiction covers the Consolidated Fund of India, Contingency Fund and the Public Accounts.

2. Audits the accounts of government companies.

3. Audits the accounts of government corporations whose statutes provide for audit by the CAG.

4. Audits the accounts of all organisations substantially financed from the Consolidated Fund of the union and the states.

5. Audits the accounts of bodies though not substantially financed from the Consolidated Fund but when requested by the president or the governor.

6. Audits the accounts of organisations receiving loans and grants from the government for specific purposes.

There is a special arrangement for the audit of government companies where equity participation is fifty-one per cent or more. The primary auditors of such companies are the chartered accountants appointed by the Government of India on the advice of the CAG. The CAG is empowered to give them special directions on how the audit is to be conducted. Besides, he is empowered to carry out the audit of accounts of such companies and submit his audit report to the Parliament or the state legislature as the case may be.

In 1995–96, the Indian Audit and Accounts Department carried out the audit of the government receipts and expenditure valuing Rs 4,85,563.66 crores. The expenditure incurred was Rs 447.32

crores. Expressed as a percentage, the expenditure of the Department was 0.07 per cent of the total value of government receipt and expenditure.

Compulsory Competitive Tendering

A mandatory practice which must allow private contractors to bid for goods and services used by the public sector. It is a legislative compulsion whereby the supply of goods and services required by an organisation is open to competitive tendering.

Concentration of Capital

The process by which capital gets concentrated into fewer and fewer hands.

Concurrent List of Subjects

The list of subjects appended to the Constitution in respect of which both the federal legislature and the state legislatures have power to make laws, federal law prevailing in case of conflict. The purpose of a concurrent list of subjects over which both the levels of government are endowed with concurrent powers is uniformity. List II of the Constitution of India is the concurrent list comprising 47 subjects.

Congress (I)

The oldest party in India, spearheading the national movement for independence, the Congress has been the dominant national party since independence. The Congress split several times since its establishment in 1885. The Congress (I) had later split in 1968 and 1979.

Consultant

A person or firm providing professional advice for a fee. The service to be rendered is defined in the contract which the government agency signs with him.

Consumer Protection

Action by government or citizen groups to safeguard the interests of consumers of goods and services. The movement has picked up since the 1960s and 1970s, its leading exponent being Ralph Nader in the U.S.

Contingency Planning

'Contingency' refers to a future event or circumstance regarded as likely to occur. A contingency plan is a plan designed to take account of a possible future event. In administration, this event is a future crisis or emergency. Contingency plan is the strategy to be adopted by an organisation to meet a crisis.

Contracting Out

Contracting out of services is defined as the process of transferring to the private sector,

activities such as provision of goods and services normally or traditionally performed by public agencies. When the services are contracted out, the government ceases to be a provider and instead becomes a purchaser of services on behalf of the public. Contracting out of the services serves three objectives. The device is a stimulus to cost reduction through the clear identification of costs and specification of volume and quality. Secondly, by enabling the public as purchaser to make choices in regard to its preferred supplier, quality can be improved. Finally, 'contracting out curbs the power of producer interests where service delivery goals have been subverted by the desire of the producers to improve the interests of their staff at the expense of their customers or service recipients'. Contracting out is an important component of new public management. The central motive underlying the contracting out approach is to increase competition.

Conway's Law

Conway's law states that 'In any organisation, there will always be one person who knows what is going on. This person must be fired.'

Coolie

Labourer, porter.

Cornwallis Code

Lord Cornwallis, India's governor-general from 1786–93, introduced far-reaching reforms in the country's public administration and is best known for what is known as the Cornwallis Code promulgated in May 1793. A compendium of 48 regulations, the Cornwallis Code regulates the system of the East India Company's internal administration covering the revenue, judicial and police systems. Among the important features of the code were the Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue and the creation of a civil service from which Indians were to be excluded. Also, a Board of Revenue was created. Lord Cornwallis thus, implemented large-scale administrative and revenue reform in India. He improved civil service pay scales. The district collector's pay thus became Rs 1,200 a month in the 1780s. This was done to attract men of ability, experience and character to the East India Company's service. Lord Cornwallis is also the architect of the Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue in India.

Corporate Enterprise

This is a widely invoked form of capitalist enterprise. It is a limited liability company which possesses a legal status and a personality separate from owners

or shareholders. This meant that the debts incurred by a firm is of the firm and that the shareholders' liability is restricted to their financial outlay. The firm has a self-perpetuating identity separate from those of the shareholders. Also see under 'Firm'.

Corporatism

Corporatism is another model of policy-making. Corporatism as a concept originated in the Middle Ages but it was the fascism of the inter-war years (1918–39) which systematically propounded the theory of the corporatist state. Corporatism presupposes a social structure based on class and which is divided into various corporations according to the function performed by each in the social division of labour. These organisations are established by the state to represent the interests of each group and at the same time each such association exercises tight control over the population. Mussolini in Italy tried to establish the corporatist state. The concept has an easy appeal in countries having traditions of state sponsorship of trade unions. As Klans von Bryne says, 'Corporatism presupposes the existence of fundamental conflicts in the society but these can at the same time be mediated with the help of the state.' Corporatism has two broad approaches: First, it is a system of political economy seeking state direction of privately owned industry according to a preferred ideology (such as unity, nationalism, etc.) According to the second approach, corporatism is a form of interest inter-mediation in which a limited number of controlled monopolistic organisations represent their members' interests in negotiation with the state to implement public policy. Corporatism believes in the articulation of social and economic policies on the basis of tripartite negotiation, that is bargaining, between capital and labour. This is why some Marxists regard corporatism as a capitalist strategy to maintain the subordination of the working class.

Corporatism resembles pluralism. But the two concepts are different. Corporatism and pluralism need to be differentiated from each other. Schmitter (1974) describes the differences between the two in these words:

> Pluralism can be defined as a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organised in an unspecified number of multiple, voluntary, competitive, non-hierarchically ordered and self-determined categories which are not specially licensed, recognised, subsidised, created or otherwise controlled in leadership

> selection or interest articulation by the state, and which do not exercise a monopoly of representational activity within their respective categories... corporatism (on the other hand) can be defined as a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organised into a limited number of singular, compulsory, non-competitive hierarchically ordered categories, recognised or licensed, if not created, by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders, and articulation of demands and supports.

Corporatism found new support in the 1980s so much so that no discussion on public policy and decision-making was supposed to be complete without a respectful mention of this concept. Corporatism has acquired a new meaning as a form of state. It is viewed as a form of political arrangement. It is argued that parliamentary forms of politics are fast yielding place to a system of arrangements in which functional representation of capital, labour and other organised interests will 'replace adversarial conflict'. Corporatism is thus, emerging as a new form of state in which decision-making is not the consequence of voting, legislative politics and rational-legal authority. Corporatism, thus, leads to depoliticised decision-making formulated as it is by bargaining and negotiation between the state and organised interests. It, thus, undermines the economic and political foundations of liberal democracy. This is the argument of the 'New Right'. Mancur Olson argues that the economic success of the post-war Germany and Japan flowed from their success in reducing the power of entrenched groups.

In the early nineties a shift was noticed in that non-corporatist strategies for growth and stability began to be propounded in the United States and Japan. Corporatism began to be linked with a basic social democratic consensus. Corporatism is now seen to be retreating along with Keynesianism.

To sum up, corporatism was first developed under Mussolini's Italy, implying the organisation of the economic system into 'corporations' which were absolutely subordinate to the state and subject to its biddings. Corporatism reorganises the country's economic system through what it calls 'corporatism' which becomes but a mechanism of state control. The economy in fascist Italy was divided into associations of

workers, employers and the professions. These associations were called 'syndicates'. Only one syndicate was permitted in each branch of industry or business. The syndicate was an instrument of the state, its policy being totally controlled by the state. In the process, both capitalism and socialism were neutralised, attacked and overtaken by a single party and a totalitarian regime. With the death of fascism in Italy, corporatism too withered.

The usage of the term has increased since the advent of the 'new economic policy'. Corporatisation stems from the value premise that competition spurs efficiency, which is good for the consumers. Corporatisation seeks to reduce costs and increase efficiency through the discipline of market competition and by more flexible forms of human resource management. Corporatisation is a structural shift towards a more autonomous business unit, coupled with competitive neutrality. Where commercialisation has allowed competitive pricing and user charges for services, revenue may be generated. This is an attractive feature. Corporatisation may curb the power and influence of government employees' unions which often work to hinder productivity. The quality of services may be improved by allowing managers the freedom to manage within a prescribed framework.

Coss

A corrupt term used by Europeans in India to denote a road measure; generally estimated at forty-two to the degree but differing in almost every province. A coss (or kosh) is not more than two miles.

Corruption

Corruption in administration has been increasing since the sixties of the twentieth century and has penetrated into new sectors of public life assuming newer forms. It is being realised that corruption is but one manifestation of a more sinister evil—a steep deterioration in the ethical values and parameters of the society, 'corruption' is a negative term, and preferably society should discuss the problem under a more constructive, acceptable label. The word which is gaining acceptability all over the world is now 'ethics', a discussion of which follows. Administration is power, and must necessarily be imbued with a viable philosophy failing which it is bound to become oppressive and, thus, counterproductive. Virtues in rulers have been emphasised in all civilisations and at all times, but the contemporary concern with it flows directly from new conceptual formulations in the field of state and politics no less than

from new insights into the behavioural patterns and decision-making processes in public affairs.

Need for ethics

The modern age is seen to have reversed the historical equation between those who govern and the governed and, as a consequence, a new equilibrium has emerged, even though it is at the theoretical level in many instances. The concept of the state as an end value is no longer tenable, and today, all governments are finding themselves under an inescapable obligation to seek legitimacy directly from the people. In this process, not only are people in the midst of rediscovering themselves but the governments, too, find themselves under a painful compulsion of redefining their source of legitimacy and authority. The democratic theory of the state is well articulated by the Constitution of India. People, thus, emerge as the font of sovereignty, making public officials their trustees. People very legitimately commit them to a code of conduct and any perceived deviations or departures from which inevitably attract criticism and censure.

Ideological reorientation apart, the functions performed by a modern state are no longer merely sovereignty-related, strictly speaking. Despite the recent emphasis on the retreat of the state, public administration in developing countries has been taking up new functions, especially in areas of welfare and development, which impinge heavily and directly on the lives of even the humblest of citizens. This has happened partly owing to ideological commitment and also partly to purely pragmatic reasons. The infrastructure characteristic of a modern nation-state in the West is either absent or inadequately developed in these countries, and necessarily the state, more so a democratic one, finds itself under mounting pressures to fill such gaps and deficiencies. These newly acquired functions are generally not of routine nature nor do they produce an effect which has a purely localised impact.

These enlarged functions and the urgency attached to them have even threatened to make an administrator insensitive to the ethical dimensions of the problems under consideration. Today, the pressure of work is so heavy that he does not ordinarily have time to reflect on the ethics of his actions. There are other reasons also at work which have a deleterious effect on ethics. The fact, today, is that most administrators are perceived to function in a state of moral anaesthesia. Spending, with little respect for cost-benefit analysis, has, for instance,

become the yardstick of success in developmental departments, and civil servants vie with each other in getting more funds which they spend to the last paise to announce to the world the success of their programmes. It does not need much logic to point out the error in such a perception. An administrator may spend the entire budget earmarked for a programme and yet, it cannot be legitimately claimed as a successfully implemented programme. Rajiv Gandhi's observation that 85 paise out of every rupee spent on development was going down the drain is an eye-opener. A civil servant must be a student of ethics who is under an activist state of today.

Its urgency

These factors have imparted urgency to the question of ethics in the civil service, but it would have remained an academic theme were it not for the occurrence of what may be called the 'Information Revolution' in our times. As a result, every one of some consequence appears to live, potentially, in a glass house, the details about his life and activities being known even to the common people. The common man has access to a plethora of information which has tended, among others, to demystify even the tallest among us, revealing feet of clay. The resultant familiarity may not exactly breed contempt but at least makes people inquisitive about the ethical base of actions of those presently strutting about in power and authority.

Such a concern is not always an expression of a morbid desire to peep into others' private chambers. Public administrators, today, do not merely execute policies and decisions made by the political executive; they also advise on policy-making, and even make policies by enunciating rules and regulations in the course of administering.

Absence of provisions to book erring civil servants

One must not overlook the central fact that public officials in a developing country, like India, function from a high pedestal and citizens' dependence or them is of a degree which in western societies is less evident. In India, the citizen, who approaches a civil servant, is, more often than not, resourceless and is generally in the position of a supplicant. The resultant relationship is not one of equality, but is a downright vertical one of obvious dependence. Moreover, civil servants in India do not operate within a frame work prevalent in many societies in the West or even in Japan where the law of torts is very well developed and citizens may even

sue the individual functionaries for many of their acts of omission and commission. On the contrary, a citizen in India has no way of booking a civil servant whose actions, or inactions, have caused him any avoidable suffering. Thus immunised, the civil servants are prone to be more authoritarian in their dealings and behaviour with the public with little accountability. Such an orientation gets further accentuated by an absence as yet of a large middle class with its own autonomous infrastructure to exercise a wholesome check over the deeds and dealings of bureaucrats. As a result, civil servants have tended to become increasingly inward-looking, supercilious, arrogant, and self-justificatory with virtually no accountability.

Rule and codes as formal components of administrative ethics

The case for ethically sensitive public functionaries is, thus, unassailable, but problems arise the moment one tries to operationalise administrative ethics in specific details. The effort towards making it reflect the 'value of society' is not free from problems. Indian society is multicultural where there is as yet no complete consensus regarding the value of even material goods. Moreover, values are different not only in different cultural groups and regions but even in the same group at different times. This itself begets problems. The administratively delineated code of conduct is, thus, not necessarily matched by complete cultural acceptance. But effective enforcement of the manualised codes of conduct may socialise civil servants in the underlying values and, thus, neutralise this imbalance.

Those who wield power, more so in a society which is so dependent on them, need to be brought under a code of discipline, and it is to this end that the Government of India has formulated the rules of conduct for its officials. These rules are of a prescriptive nature and their violation by public officials invites various forms of official displeasure, including punitive action.

Characteristics of rules/codes

These rules, it may be noticed, do not govern the public officials only during their official hours and merely for official activities; they go far beyond and regulate all aspects of their life, making little distinction between what may be called official life and private life. A government employee is expected to lead a life which not only keeps him above criticism but also retains and enhances citizens' confidence in the government. Citizens form their

impressions about the government mostly through the actions and behaviour of its employees, and it is this which makes the government anxious to have its own formally cherished image reproduced in its functionaries.

India has laid down such rules in a most comprehensive way, and this formal, elaborate listing or codification of what the public officials are to do and what they have to abjure from is an impressive feature of formally prescribed administrative ethics. Secondly, these ethical provisions have evolved over a long period of time, many dating back to the early days of the Raj. This gradual process of ethical formulation owed itself to purely pragmatic compulsions; whenever administrative ethics was perceived to be under stress, new regulations were proclaimed. Thirdly, the formal ethical codes began to be first formulated when the system of government in the country was unitary, and though India is a federation under the Constitution of 1950, the public officials of all levels of government are regulated by more or less same or similar ethical provisions.

Various provisions in rules/codes

a. Personal and familial virtues

That no member of public bureaucracy should indulge in corruption or take recourse to corrupt practices is the most commonly known part of administrative ethics in both the developed and the developing societies. There are similarly some other matters which constitute either prescribed (or preferred) or prohibited administrative behaviour. In India, a public servant is asked to maintain absolute devotion to duty. He is not only to be honest and impartial in the discharge of his official duties but also to have the reputation of being so. He is expected to maintain a responsible and decent standard of conduct in his private life and not to bring discredit to his service by misdemeanours or other activities.

A public servant, for instance, is liable to action if he neglects his wife and family and acts in an unbecoming manner. While the rules require him to avoid impropriety or unbecomingness in behaviour, they are, in a sense, elliptic. Behaviour is indivisible, and is important in all spheres of life, in conduct, in deportment, in manners in speech and one's associations. The existing administrative codes, for these very reasons, cannot be very exhaustive, entailing as they invariably do an 'unwritten' code of conduct which everyone in the civil service is expected ceaselessly to uphold. A complete compliance with the 'implied' orders is a part of the latter codes. A public servant

must also honour the implications of the various conduct-governing rules taken as a whole. He is expected to practise standards of decency and morality in his official life no less than in his private life. This was upheld in 1967 by the Supreme Court of India in the case of 'Govinda Menon versus Union of India'.[1]

b. Office-related behaviour

There are elaborate rules in operation to keep a civil servant to the straight and narrow path of virtue. He is instructed to avoid accepting lavish hospitality or frequent hospitality from any individual having official dealings with him or from industrial or commercial houses eager as they are to be close to him to promote their pecuniary interests. There are restrictions on his acceptance of gifts and favours. Even if a near relative gives him a gift of the value of more than Rs 500 he has, as a rule, to report it to the government and also when he receives a gift of more than Rs 200 from his personal friends having no official dealings with him. In any case, he is not supposed to accept any gift without the sanction of the government if its value exceeds Rs 75. There are severe curbs on him in regard to the acceptance of private hospitality. As commercial and business people make every effort to cultivate civil servants, and from this point of view the usual distinction between economic ministries and other ministries may not serve any useful purpose, as officers are liable to transfer and a business house may find it worthwhile to invest in an officer even though he is in a non-economic ministry, in the hope that this investment would be useful later on.

A public servant is, therefore, urged to avoid the familiarity arising out of private hospitality. When in doubt, he is to abstain from accepting an invitation, and he must not accept invitations, particularly from persons who have cases pending before him.

Nor, is a civil servant allowed to accept part-time employment whether under government or elsewhere even though such employment may be after office hours. He is not to negotiate with private firms to secure commercial employment even while he is in service under the government. This restriction flows from the view that a government servant is under an obligation to devote his energies whole-heartedly to the performance of his duties and not to divide his attention and effort in search of employment elsewhere.

c. Use of discretionary powers

Today's administrators enjoy enormous discretionary powers

which may be abused in furtherance of private goals. The administrative codes in operation forbid it. A civil servant must be able to account satisfactorily for the possession, by himself or by any other person on his behalf, of pecuniary resources or property disproportionate to his known sources of income, failing which he is held guilty of corruption. The underlying presumption is that a civil servant, who cannot account for large accretion of wealth which he could not possibly have saved from his known sources of income, has necessarily abused his official position and indulged in corruption.

d. Property acquisition

There are detailed rules, regulating the buying of (and additions to) immovable property. One such rule, for instance, lays down that a public servant shall on first appointment to government service and thereafter at intervals of twelve months, submit, a return of immovable property owned, acquired or inherited by him or held by him or held by him on lease or mortgage, either in his own name or in the name of any other person.[2] This means, among others, that a public servant should report to, and seek the permission of, the government before commencing the construction of, or addition to any building. Besides, there are detailed rules to ensure that he does not indulge in *benami* transactions or ostensible transfers and acquisitions to secret assets illegally earned.

Application of conflict and interest doctrine to higher level

Mention may also be made of the conflict of interest doctrine finding its way in the conduct rules of the higher-level civil service. The service rule, applying to the all-India services lays down the following: 'No member of the services shall, except with the previous sanction of the Government, permit his son, daughter or dependent to accept employment with private firms with which he has official dealings, or with others firms having official dealings with Government.[3] It is for these reasons that the High Court judges are prevented after retirement from practising before the same court, or the Supreme Court judges, from practising before any court or the comptroller and auditor-general of India from accepting any government post after retirement.'

A critique of manualised administrative ethics

a. Impossibility of comprehensiveness in coverage

Howsoever comprehensive the manualised codes of conduct may

be, they are limited in value even at the best of times. They still leave much unsaid and uncovered. What is more, the written codes might even imply that conduct *not* covered by them might be considered free of all constraints, a position which is plainly untenable. They, for instance, do not take into account what may be a lackadaisical performance. They are silent on the need for a civil servant to have identification with his work. Nor do they cover aspects like intellectual honesty, citizen-oriented disposition, responsibility, accountability, and moral qualities like initiative, risktaking, fearlessness, truthfulness, etc. Yet, without these qualities of head and heart, a civil servant must surely be pronounced as deficient and wanting. What is more, it is these qualities which are needed the most in higher civil servants for the simple reason that their actions—or inactions—impinge heavily and directly on the lives of the citizens.

In short, administrative ethics may flow from three sources. The first is the profession itself, which necessarily articulates and upholds certain norms of conduct and action. There are, in addition, norms laid down by the civil service rules and regulations. Above all, there are certain personal beliefs and values which are highly individualised in nature but which nevertheless, project themselves rather strongly in a civil servant's (or, for that matter, any individual's) actions.

b. Dependence of operationalisation on values

A codification of ethical behaviour does not necessarily mean that *all* public servants invariably conduct themselves according to the rules and regulations or all the provisions in the codes are enforced uniformly. Compliance of formal codes of conduct is inevitably influenced by social perceptions and the operational value system of the rulers. Administrative ethics being a mix of several ingredients, the society may prefer to attach more weightage to some at a particular time than to others. Surendra Nath Banerjea's case is an apt one. Banerjea had falsified a routine return submitted to his higher officers for which he was dismissed from the Indian Civil Service. Such an act may go completely unnoticed in the bureaucracy of today, and even if detected would hardly evoke an expression of official displeasure.[4] Today, the code of conduct is under a heavy discount. An agonising fact in the India of today is that though it has an elaborately drawn code of ethics for its public officials, it, in practice, accepts and even occasionally rewards behaviour which is in unashamed violation of it.

Ethics itself has been politicised in India.

Changing profile of administrative ethics

India started its career as an independent country with two obviously great assets even though in the process it had to pay a very heavy price: the country was partitioned, and millions of people were compelled to leave their homes for a strange land. India inherited clean politics from the national movement led by Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji spiritualised politics and for him purity of means was of paramount importance. A politician was, thus, expected to observe, always and without exception, a high standard of purity, simplicity, nobility and selflessness. He was to observe a high code of conduct so that he could set an example to the society. Independent India's public administration continued from the British who, in the course of their long rule in the subcontinent, had shaped and designed it. It was known for its efficiency, integrity and reliability. Pure politics and a strong, dedicated public administration were India's legacy in 1947. Independent India could not have started its career on a happier note.

The mode of political recruitment in India inevitably underwent a change when the Constitution came into force in 1950. Hitherto, anyone could join politics provided he had an urge as well as the willingness to fight against the colonial power and, if necessary, to go to jail at the call of the national leadership. What politics promised was a self-chosen career of sacrifice and suffering.

Rise in political corruption

With the Constitution of 1950 coming in force, the mode of political recruitment was through elections, with all that it entailed. An election is necessarily expensive, for everything associated with it costs money. Even crowd-collectors have to be paid these days. Since the 1970s, the criterion for the distribution of the party ticket has become 'winnability' rather than 'viability'; a candidate inevitably expects the party to finance his election. These days, elections are contested fiercely and they have come to cost much more than the legally prescribed ceiling. The candidate's dependence is on Big Money. As a result, politicians of the Gandhian era were steadily bowing out of the electoral arena and the space was filled by the new politician, who had little resemblance with the first-generation politicians. The new politician is a product of the electoral process. He is one who has spent much money in

contesting the election, which, over the year, has gradually become a way of amassing wealth, and who must necessarily also collect funds in order to be ready for the next election. The second phase began in the mid-1960s when Indira Gandhi became the prime minister. With the split in the Congress in 1967–68, new blood was inducted into the Congress (I) to fill the depleted cadres. A large number of the new recruits were of dubious character and for them politics was a most promising career from which all power would flow. Today's politician is, more often than not, a self-seeker. His sole motivation is to stay in power. He does not have any exalted sense of self-respect. Nor does he feel embarrassed, much less remorse, when accused of accepting kickbacks or cashing in on his power.

The Second Five Year Plan (1957–62) acted as a catalyst, characterised as it was by its industry-orientation in the mixed nature of economic development. As a result, the businessman, either potential or actual, the politician, and the civil servant were drawn closer to each other, the new 'linker' being exchange of money or favours. The businessman wanted a license, (or its functional equivalent) the minister was the granting authority and the civil servant had to process the papers and make out a case in favour of the businessman. The civil servant was lured by the prospect of getting a 'wet' post, a creation largely of the second plan, entailing a proliferation of the regulatory bureaucracy under the permit-license raj. When India reached the 1960s, the atmosphere was thick with rumours about corruption in public administration. A reluctant Jawaharlal Nehru was forced to appoint the S.R. Das Inquiry Commission (1964) against the controversial chief minister of Punjab, Pratap Singh Kairon. Around this time, the Parliament too mounted a demand for drastic action against corruption in public life and the K. Santhanam Committee on Prevention of Corruption (1962) was set up. Both these reports confirmed the existence of widespread corruption in India. This corruption, moreover, was politico-administrative in nature and organised with deeper roots. It demanded firm, strong action. The upshot was the appointment of the central vigilance commissioner as an anti-corruption authority against the members of the bureaucracy.

Defections

What is being stressed is that independent India was not able to preserve those traditions of the national movement and the

colonial era. The profile of the politician as well as the civil servant was changing.

In the early years of the Republic, political formations had enjoyed a level of sanctity and consequent stability, free from political defection and piracy. Thus, even governments with slender majorities could survive. Not that there was no dissent then. But it would operate within limits, and one would not even think of de-stabilitising the government. Gradually, the scenario changed. Money power became the chosen instrument of de-stabilisation. Even chief ministers became turncoats and changed their party affiliations with no compunction. Horse-trading became common. Wholesale purchase of legislators was managed as industrialists, contractors and businessmen freely opened their coffers.

Putting a ban on political defections became an urgent demand of political parties but legislation could be passed only in 1985 when Rajiv Gandhi, having returned to power with a massive majority, wanted to freeze his flock of followers and had the first anti-defection law enacted. But no law can legislate behaviour. Human ingenuity soon discovered loopholes in the law. While the anti-defection legislation discouraged individual defections, it permitted wholesale (at least one-thirds of the party strength) crossing of floors. This induced a change in the strategy of enticement.

Rising level of corruption and scandals

In 1988, the Bofors gun deal was finalised in which the Rajiv Gandhi government was alleged to have received 'kickbacks' in awarding a Rs 1,600 crore defence contract. This marks yet another landmark in the history of corruption in India. The mode of political fund collection underwent a change leading to an institutionalisation of 'kickbacks' in government contracts. This was quickly followed by the securities megascam, the sugar scandal and the hawala scandal. In September 1993, Ram Jethmalani, a leading lawyer, publicly charged the Central Bureau of Investigation with not following up its own findings about hawala funds reaching politicians. On 2 September 1993, he made this charge in a letter to the prime minister to draw his attention to the attempt to hush up the matter by the premier investigating agency. According to him, the Central Bureau of Investigation pointed an accusing finger at an ex-deputy prime minister, his son (an MP now) 'an ex-Speaker and several ministers in the government headed by the late Rajiv Gandhi, V.P. Singh and Chandra

Shekar ...' The list, according to Jethmalani, 'includes secretaries to the Government, including the cabinet secretary, director of the Intelligence Bureau, the then commissioner of Delhi Police and heads of public sector undertakings. It even includes a hotelier, who acted as a go-between in various foreign deals and who gave away two commercial flats to the cabinet secretary at throwaway prices.' Public positions of trust and responsibility are increasingly treated as personal fiefdoms; a new class is emerging in India: its members share the 'virtue' of being easy on conscience and fast on money!

Administrative ethics is, it must be reiterated, a positive concept and includes strong moral and intellectual inputs. Corruption is only one of the manifestations of low ethics. Because corruption is presently India's single greatest shame, the rest of the present entry is devoted to it.

A recently conducted international survey on corruption has put India among the most corrupt countries of the world even though India finds itself in the company of countries, such as Pakistan and China. This international corruption rating was made in 1994.[5]

The interface between business and bureaucracy breeds corruption as many other evils in the country. But who tempts whom is a tricky question. Swaraj Paul, the controversial India-born British industrialist, told the business community in Kolkata in January 1995 that foreign companies and non-resident Indians would be willing to invest in India if corruption was eliminated. He blamed the bureaucracy for the malady. On the other hand, B.G. Deshmukh, the cabinet secretary under Rajiv Gandhi, when asked when corruption would disappear among the bureaucracy, replied: 'It would stop the moment businessmen ceased to offer bribes and corrupt the bureaucrats.'[6] Both the views are too one-sided to be tenable. The business community consciously tries to corrupt the career bureaucracy by taking recourse to all conceivable means: by sending expensive gifts on auspicious occasions, like Diwali, and by offering lucrative jobs to the sons, daughters, even close relatives of senior bureaucrats. It is equally true that civil servants expect this and exploit their power and authority.

Political patronage

The constitutional protection accorded to the civil service has proved to be of no avail, and today it is prepared to go to any lengths to accommodate the political bosses. What is more, while

the politician may want the civil servant merely to bend, he is prepared even to crawl. The political boss has been able to make the civil service toe the line because of his power which enables him to effect transfers, withhold promotions and carry out suspensions. Postings and transfers are the normal processes in personnel administration and no one should ordinarily criticise them: they broaden the horizon and provide a variety of experiences.

These are an integral part of the career service. But these processes are often used vindictively—for punishment, or for reward. Posting to a hardship area or to a far-off, god-forsaken place is viewed as a punitive measure. This is the case with very frequent unrelated transfers. Moreover, there are 'wet' posts involving patronage, power and perks which are given to the pliant civil servants. By controlling postings and transfers, politicians can make the civil servants subservient. A minister these days, prefers a civil servant who is prepared to carry out his commands regardless of moral consideration. Indeed, the civil servant is the greater culprit in this respect. He has mastered all the rules and regulations and can prepare a case favourable to the minister's viewpoint in order to curry favour.

Varying modes of corrupt practices

The rot has spread much wider, leaving no social space in India uncontaminated. According to a news item *in Asian Age*, the Life Insurance Corporation of India, is riddled with a racket involving fraud to the extent of billions of rupees every year as a result of which development officers, medical officers, banks and LIC bureaucracy fatten their wallets year after year while LIC incurs heavy losses.[7] Even some MPs are selling their gas and telephone connections. It is common knowledge that the state boards set up by the ministry of petroleum for the distribution of petrol pumps and LPG agencies are hotbeds of corruption, as these facilities are allotted to members or to their kith and kin. The Ministry of Urban Development indulges in corruption by its practice of out-of-turn allotment of government housing. There have been complaints of this ministry's minions extorting bribes amounting to Rs 40,000 each for allotment of government quarters.[8]

Voluntary agencies in corruption network

It would be too naive, too short-sighted to view corruption as a characteristic feature of government alone even though the latter is virtually saturated with it.

The much talked about voluntary organisations are also affected with this malady. One may cite the case of voluntary agencies in the field of grass-root rural development. The Ministry of Rural Development has under it an autonomous agency, named the Council for Advancement of People's Action on Rural Technology (CAPART), whose mandate is to promote voluntary sector initiatives in rural areas. Out of nearly 7,000 NGOs awaiting CAPART funding as many as 700 have been blacklisted by CAPART and of these, 26 have been identified for indulging in a criminal conspiracy to defraud CAPART and are facing prosecution. Voluntary organisations are even given as dowries! In one case, a volunteer controlling four NGOs had actually handed over two of them to his son-in-law as dowry: the groom saw the NGOs as an unending source of money. The NGOs generally have political connections and operate hand in glove with the CAPART bureaucracy. The latter takes bribes to clear the applications for funds.[9]

Putting on end to money-making mania

Corruption in India has become all-pervasive, leaving virtually no sector of life uncontaminated. According to some, it has already become a way of life in modern India, and today its pathetic acceptance marks our behaviour. What is the way out?

No stray, isolated attempts are likely to purge the society of this evil. First and foremost, moral rearmament of the society is a crying need. India retired religion too prematurely under the name of secularism and today what we have in India is an 'amoral' society, at times perilously unable even to discriminate between morality and immorality. Moral education must be imparted right from the start of life and to this end a restructuring of the educational syllabus is imperative. Family and school are the two important social institutions which must be activated to articulate and reinforce it. The present-day mania to 'get rich quick' must be underplayed. What India direly needs is a moral and ethical commission to tone up the moral level of the entire society. Such a body already exists in Great Britain. Headed by Lord Nolan, this commission was recently set up by the British parliament. Secondly, consumerism must be checked and controlled. At present, it is playing havoc with the social system and its values. One must remember, consumerism and corruption feed on each other and thus go hand in hand, especially in a developing society. Without an agreement on these two points,

India can win only localised battles, and the gains are likely to be temporary and transitory.

Enforcement of accountability and reform measures

With complete national determination on these matters, certain prerequisites must exist if the war against corruption is to succeed. The present administrative machinery is too vast, engaged as it is in the performance of a vast array of functions, essential and not-too-essential. The central government in India is at present performing no less than 2,000 functions. Pruning the bureaucracy is essential for combating corruption. Simultaneously, administrative reform is an integral part of the overall strategy against corruption and must emphasise simplification of procedures, accountability and openness. It is also necessary to accelerate the pace of economic development and control inflation so that the society is able to cope with the rising expectations of the people. A high rate of inflation is apt to strain the purchasing power of the public personnel thereby making them vulnerable to temptations. Finally, and most importantly, firm political and bureaucratic commitment to clean administration is absolutely essential, for the overall climate is set by the political elite. Equally necessary is the breaking of the nexus between politics and money power, and state funding of elections may be seriously considered.

Streamlining of anti-corruption measures

Having discussed the prerequisites for the success of anti-corruption measures, one should now move to the administrative agenda which must claim the attention of the reformers. Public administration has in its armoury several mechanisms to book the guilty and these must now be activated without fear or favour. The anti-corruption machinery is in existence in India but it is weak and ineffective and even used to intimidate the honest and independent civil servants.

The society has brought into existence structural safeguards against corruption in the shape of the Central Bureau of Investigation, the anti-corruption departments and lokayuktas in the states. But these are seen, in practice, to be often of questionable value. These organisations are part of the executive and it is extremely difficult to investigate corruption cases against the latter. The Central Bureau of Investigation, the country's premier investigating agency against corruptions, must be completely released from governmental control. In the winter of 1994, the Central

Bureau of Investigation was firmly directed that all preliminary or other investigations and final reports which relate to a member of the council of minister's 'shall now be referred to the prime minister'. Similar protection is provided for the civil servants so they can no longer be investigated without a reference to the cabinet secretary.[10] Such limitations render the CBI ineffective in its corruption-combating mission. The limitations the CBI presently suffers from are principally three. In the words of C.R. Irani, the well-known political commentator, its authority can be frustrated at three points.

1. Do not refer cases to the CBI, the example being the sugar scandal and the 126-page *Gian Prakash Report.*
2. The ones referred, usually under duress, are manipulated behind the scenes to ensure inaction, example Bofors.
3. If a final report somehow gets known, shelter it behind ambiguous directives to bury it in the Prime Minister's Office: example, CBI on Shandaranand.[11]

Need for ombudsmen at central and state levels

The Lokpal Bill has a long-checkered history. First mooted in 1968 in terms of the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission, the Bill was revived in 1971, 1977, 1985 and 1989. The Rajiv Gandhi government brought forward the Lokpal Bill in 1985 only to drop it later. Lokpal is visualised as the watchdog institution on ministerial probity at the central level. But the functionary must be free of the executive in its functioning and the vigilance machinery at its command must also be independent enough to carry out its task without fear or favour. Eleven states have instituted lokayuktas but the powers and effectiveness of the functionary vary from state to state. The Karnataka law on the subject appears to be a model one.

The need to appoint an ombudsman is urgent. The Narasimha Rao government had (July 1995) announced its intention to enact the Lokpal Bill. This was the sixth attempt at setting up of the institution. While a near unanimity among political parties prevails over the issue, the controversy has centred on the inclusion or otherwise of the prime minister within the jurisdiction of the lokpal. The plea for his exclusion was based on the prime minister's unique position. The Congress was opposed to the idea of bringing the chief executive within the purview of the lokpal. But the Janata government in 1989 viewed such exclusion as a mockery and negation of the concept of

accountability. The Narasimha Rao government has shown its agreement not to exclude the chief executive.

Acceptance of reform proposals becomes easier when they are seen by the ruling elite to promote immediate party ends. To set up lokpal at the end of the government's terms is an obviously election-oriented move to retrieve the image of the ruling party battered by a series of scandals but a right cause is served, and so the move should be welcome. For the politician, no code of conduct has been formulated so far. India does not yet have a regular machinery to book the corrupt politician. This must be provided at the earliest.

Need for an action plan and national debate thereon

What has been said in the foregoing necessarily needs national debate and discussion, but an action plan must be prepared and launched without delay. Worldwide experience indicates that the effective check against corruption should be sought through administrative devices and for this the following measures are essential. Of foremost importance is the professionalisation of the civil service which must include recruitment, promotion, training, skilled management, tasks and work-performance standards. Restructuring of the civil service is urgently called for to make it achievement-oriented and responsive to citizen needs. At the same time, efforts must be set afoot to inculcate in the masses an increasing public awareness of rights to government services and programmes. Effective channels must be devised for redressal of public complaints, and ombudsmen and independent commissions, where necessary, must be established.

Rules must provide for obligatory disclosure of assets and investments of public servants, including members of the political executive. Audit agencies must be strengthened. Cases involving conflicts of interest by public servants, and politicians must be compulsorily reported. Effective and well-defined procedures must be laid down for tendering and supervising public works contracts. Improved banking and financial regulation and machinery ought to be designed to prevent tax and customs duty evasion. General inspectors and vigilance commissions or other specialised bodies must be set up when necessary. Adequate internal management procedures and disciplinary measures must be introduced within government agencies. All these constitute an integrated package and must be implemented with utmost honesty and firmness.

Summing up

Low ethics, today, is no doubt a worldwide phenomenon but its effects are most pernicious in developing countries like India, characterised as they are by vulnerable economies. The country's policy-makers must realise that its economic and social costs are devastating: it demoralises the civil service and adversely affects its performance. It must be fought, otherwise, the society will be forced to resort to extraordinary measures, like violence, to deal with the evil.

[1]Govinda Menon *vs.* Union of India, *AIR*, 1967, SC 1274.

[2]Section 15 of the All India Service (Conduct) Rules, 1954; Section 15 of the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, 1955.

[3]Section 4A of the All India Services (Conduct) Rules, 1954.

[4]For a detailed examination of the case, see my article on 'Administrative Morality', *India Journal of Public Administration*, vol. XXXV, no. 2, April–June 1989, pp. 176–190.

[5]India is rated among the five most corrupt countries of the world. Conducted by Transparency International, the international survey on corruption has identified 45 most corrupt countries of the world. Topping the list are Indonesia, Venezuela and Brazil. India is in the second category and the countries bracketed with it in the matter of corruption are Pakistan and China. The United States of America is classified as more corrupt than Great Britain and Germany. The Scandinavian countries, including Sweden (despite the Bofors) are relatively free from corruption. According to the survey, there is no country which is entirely free of corruption but there are wide differences in degree. Transparency International is a global coalition against corruption in international business transactions. It is estimated by a United Nations Report that U.S. $4.5 billion in bribes is paid each year to third world leaders just for their countries' arms purchases. *The Times of India*, 6 May 1995.

[6]*The Telegraph*, 31 January 1995.

[7]*Asian Age*, 22 June 1995.

[8]*The Times of India*, 21 July 1995.

[9]*The Telegraph*, 1 July 1995.

[10]*The Statesman*, 2 January 1995.

[11]*Ibid.*

Cost-Benefit Analysis

A technique of comparing all the costs, both visible and invisible, incurred in a particular course of action with all the benefits expected. It is a technique employed in economic decision-making. It is a monetary assessment of the total costs and benefits (quantified) of a project. It needs to be emphasised that social aspects are not ordinarily accounted in costing exercises.

Cost-Effectiveness

Closely related to cost-benefit analysis is cost-effectiveness. It is an assessment of the extent to which money has been effectively spent to obtain a result. The idea

is to find out whether the same result could have been obtained with lower expenditure.

Council-Manager Form of Local Government

One of the forms of municipal government in the U.S.A. is the council-manager plan which has been very widely adopted in cities with a population range of 10,000–50,000. This form was the last to emerge in the U.S.A. and was brought about by a determination to instal merit in the recruitment of municipal personnel. The council-manager form marks the advent of managerial skills in administration of the local government. The managers of cities should be responsible to the elected members in the council but these officials should be free to run the administration along professional lines. The council is elected at large on a non-partisan basis. It is the legislative body responsible for law-making and passing the budget. The council hires a manager who serves at its behest. The manager is the chief executive of the city and he appoints the heads of administrative departments. The council keeps away from administration which is the sole responsibility of the city manager. These managers are professionals and possess degrees in public administration.

Coup d'etat

A change of regime brought about by illegal and unconstitutional intervention by a group of military officers or holders of political office. A putsch is a type of coup d'etat. Coup d'etat is an often used tool of regime-change especially in the third world.

Covenanted Civil Service

This was the higher civil service under the East India Company and later under the Government of India. It is so called as its members were obliged to enter into a covenant with the employer, which spelled out the terms and conditions of the service and detailed its privileges and rights as well.

Under the East India Civil Service Act, 1961, all higher posts in administration were formally reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service. The Act listed the following posts as reserved to it:

— secretaries, junior secretaries and under secretaries except the secretaries, junior secretaries and under secretaries in the military, marine and public works departments
— accountant-general
— civil auditor
— sub-treasurers
— members of the Board of Revenue
— secretaries to the Board of Revenue

— divisional commissioners
— district collectors
— deputy of subordinate collectors where combined with the office of joint magistrate
— assistance collectors or assistants to collectors
— salt agents
— commissioners of customs, salt and opium
— controller of salt chowkies
— opium agents
— civil and sessions judges
— additional and assistant judges
— magistrates, joint magistrates and assistant magistrates

It needs to be said that some of these reserved posts were transferred to the Provincial Civil Service when it was created in 1892 consequent on the implementation of the Aitchison Commission on Public Service recommendations.

Covenanted Servants

The term is applied to the regular civil service of India whose members entered into a formal covenant with the East India Company and later with the secretary of state for India.

Criminal Justice Administration

India is currently experiencing widespread lawlessness. Hardly a day passes without serious crimes being reported from somewhere in the country. Never has a citizen felt so insecure as now. What is more, in view of the growing relationship between crime and politics it would not be wrong to say that the two are simultaneously at work in the society. It is not easy to obtain a correct and total picture of the incidence of crime in the country. But it would be patently wrong to rely only upon the statistics available from press reports, however meticulous the reporting in the media may be. Often, the crimes committed do not find a place even in police records.

Trivial

In almost all countries, citizens silently suffer the crimes perpetrated. According to expert opinion, only 20 to 30 per cent of criminal acts are generally brought to the notice of the police. The percentage is undoubtedly much smaller in India, especially in the rural areas. Many offences are too trivial, and citizens usually do not wish to take the trouble of bringing them to the notice of the police. Other factors responsible for the underreporting of crimes in India include long distances that have to be covered in order to reach the police station, the sparseness of the police force itself and the capacity of the average Indian to endure suffering for a long time. It is also true that only a part of the total number of crimes taken to

the police is actually recorded by the latter. The police can display an obstructionist attitude in this respect; a police station often tries to frustrate a citizen's attempt to register crimes committed against him because of a widely shared official view that an increase in the registration of crime is an index of the inefficiency of the local police which is likely to invite reprimand from higher officials. The reluctance of the police is most marked in the case of petty crimes affecting the poor. This happens even in the nation's capital. The Anti-Corruption Branch of the Delhi Police has found that 'the police refuse to register about 65 per cent of crime cases in the capital'. It is obvious that the percentage of such refusal would be much higher elsewhere. In short, in India the incidence of crimes are particularly underreported.

Mere registration of a case hardly provides any solace to the victim. The police does not always show much interest in investigating the cases and this happens particularly when a poor citizen is the victim. This is because the police either remains preoccupied with other tasks or do not have either the skill or the tenacity to investigate cases. No less important is the political factor; being completely under the executive, the police is often made by politicians to act either too slowly or too quickly, depending on their interests. Whatever the reason, the fact is that there are too few detections, and in some, people may be falsely implicated even in these few cases. Still fewer, unfortunately, are the convictions secured, and this brings the judiciary into the picture. The judiciary in India is notoriously slow, partly because of the complexity of the law and partly because of human factors. A case usually comes before it after a very long interval and what is worse, frequent postponements are a common phenomenon in the courts themselves. Justice is thus delayed, which is tantamount to justice being denied.

In reality, the prolongation of a case becomes the means to defeat the ends of justice. The witnesses tend either to disappear in the course of time or provide an incomplete or vague account of the crime committed. All this works to the advantage of the accused. The amount of evidence that is usually required becomes difficult to obtain and the accused gets the benefit of the doubt. Besides, the accused may employ experienced and successful lawyers to outwit the prosecution. There is also a distinct shift in the attitudes of the enforcement and adjudication agencies. The gravity of a crime manifests itself fully when one is close to its occurrence, and

the passage of time has an effect of changing the situation to the advantage of the accused. Indeed, often, it is the accused who is the recipient of sympathy and the victim who is blamed. The consequence is not merely that convictions become difficult to obtain; even when they are secured, the punishment is not always in proportion to the gravity of the offence. A majority of murder cases end in acquittals. It is even more difficult to secure convictions in dacoity cases. The pattern is no different in the case of other crimes. One should also note that all criminals do not receive the same treatment. The crimes committed or inspired by trade unions or during elections or political agitations tend to be lightly treated.

Given such an atmosphere of permissiveness, it is no wonder that there is a spurt in crime all over the country. In 1973, the Working Group on Jail Administration appointed by the home ministry pointed out that the total cognisable crimes under the Indian Penal Code increased by 57.6 per cent during 1960–70 against an increase in population by 27.4 per cent. It also reported a 128 per cent increase in juvenile delinquency during the same period. Crimes and offences are spelled out by legislation also, and the Indian Penal Code is not the only system which lists acts of crime. Since 1973, the situation has evidently become much worse. The situation of too many crimes, too few detections, and still fewer convictions makes a mockery of the criminal justice-administration, and provides a further incentive to the commission of crimes thus, subjecting a citizen to the rule of the criminals. As a consequence, laws have all but lost their sanctity or force, and this creates an inclination to defy the law. The situation is alarming, and calls for firm, wide-ranging action on the part of the government. The nation must first fear the law—Indians never had much respect for the law—which has all but disappeared. The statute book must not remain cluttered with enactments which are plainly unenforceable. After rationalising them, the country should seek firm and even-handed enforcement of the laws.

Among other things, this calls for reform of the police force. At present the police remains preoccupied with all kinds of special tasks, such as looking after VIPs, which leaves them little time for their normal functions, like controlling crime. Political interference in the work of the police, which is a serious problem, must cease and the police must be allowed to function as a truly

professional force. Itself a creature of the law, it must secure the society's compliance with the laws of the land, and no one, however powerful, can be allowed to interfere with the process of law. The nexus between crime and politics must be eradicated to uphold the legitimacy of the system.

Reform

But reform of the police force cannot be effective unless there is a simultaneous reform of the judiciary. Justice must be made cheap, speedy and simple and the judiciary too must show a greater sense of professionalism. Indeed, there is an urgent need for effective coordination between law-enforcement and law-adjudication agencies. Four agencies are engaged in criminal justice administration—the law-making organ (legislature), the law-enforcement organ (the police), the law-adjudicating organ (the judiciary) and the agency to take care of the criminal (prison). These four, especially the last three, constitute the system of criminal justice administration but they are now functioning in an uncoordinated way. The country must take an integrated view of crime management of which the police is but one, though an important part. Unless there is reform all along the line, there are bound to be more criminals outside jails than inside.

Criminal Trials

Criminal trials may follow either the accusatorial system (or the Anglo-Saxon or common law system) under which the judge is only an umpire between two contesting parties. He gives his decision on the issues and evidence put before him. In a criminal trial it is the prosecution that charges the accused with a definite offence and having done so it has the responsibility to prove it as well. The Indian Evidence Act, 1872, says: 'Whoever desires any court to give judgment as to any legal right or liability dependent on the existence of facts which he asserts, must prove that those facts exist.' When a person is bound to prove the existence of any fact it is said that the burden of proof lies on that person' (Section 101). So, the burden of proof lies on the prosecution. As an umpire, the judge gives a decision only on the evidence brought before him on the issues raised between the prosecution and the defendant. India follows the accusatorial system.

On the other hand is the inquisitorial system in which the judge takes the initiative and finds out for himself what really happened by examining all relevant persons including the accused, and then acts according to the law. The inquisitorial system is followed in Europe.

Crises Management

A planned response to a crisis. Also, see under 'Disaster Management'.

Criterion Behaviour

Specification of what a trainee is expected to be able to do at the end of a training.

Cultural Bias

A natural inclination or propensity to value more highly certain social traits and practices. Culture is the sum total of ways of living shared by a group of human beings and transmitted from one generation to another.

Cultural Imperialism

Cultural imperialism is a form of domination. The term refers to the process by which a metropolitan country transmits or spreads its influence or control over other countries or cultures by the promotion of its arts, letters and manners. The transmission takes place both through the government agencies as well as independently of the government. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) is the principal international organisation responsible for cultural exchanges among nations. One subtle form of cultural imperialism is the notion of 'informal empire', a term used for the transmission of cultural influence, through institutions which are not formal. Many people suspect that cultural imperialism is primarily a U.S. phenomenon for extending its power. A term such as coca-colonialism testifies to the cultural diffusion through the United States.

Culture and Development

Culture and development are generally viewed as contradictory values in the society. Culture is considered to be static, timeless, closed, fully formed and respecter of the past. On the other hand, development is viewed as being dynamic, progressive, even disruptive. The earlier view was that both could not go together: one had to make way for the other. Because poverty was abysmal, development became the overriding goal and in its pursuit, culture, at any rate, a part of it, was to be given short shrift.

This view warrants amendment and the earlier it is done the better it would be for human happiness. Today, all the countries including India are witnessing great technological progress. But this progress, essentially being unidimensional has proved to be disruptionist in its effect. It has unleashed a process of social upheaval and demographic transformation on an unprecedented scale. Man finds himself on a threshold of crises. Yet, the

picture is not all bleak. There are enormous possibilities opening out before human beings. An unlocking of these possibilities calls for new concepts, new visions, new responses. Development is too complex a process, and it would be dangerous to seek solutions only from economists and management experts.

Customs Unions

It is a regional economic grouping of countries which join hands to eliminate all trade barriers between them.

Cutback Management

'Cutback' refers to a reduction in rate, quantity, etc. and cutback management is the management of decline in resources either by reducing the scale of the programme or personnel or by reducing the expenditure to be incurred by government.

Cutcherry

A court of justice; also the public office where the rents are paid and other businesses relating to the revenue transacted, the term is of Mughal origin.

Cutting Edge of Administration

Cutting edge is the limb of administration having direct interaction with citizens; cutting edge is the actual delivery point of public services.

Cybernetics

Derived from Greek, 'cybernetics' means helmsmen, steersman. The term was coined by Norman Weiner in 1948. It is the study of the replacement of human control functions with computer systems. It seeks to apply statistical mechanics to communication engineering. Cybernetics concentrates on control systems simulating psychological processes. It is the scientific study of how information is communicated in the human brain and nervous system. This is a means of controlling an activity or activities to direct them towards a particular goal.

D

Dabash or Deobash

An interpreter, a middleman.

Dacoit

Gang robber.

Daftary

A low-level official in the presidency of Bengal whose business was to look after the condition of the office records, and keep them bound and dusted.

Dak Bungalow

A rest house for the accommodation of travellers available for a modest cost. A travellers' bungalow.

Dalit

Literally 'dalit' means 'oppressed' or 'ground down'. The term is used for scheduled castes. The earlier term 'harijan' has been in disuse since the seventies and the present term is preferred.

Scheduled castes as yet do not have an agreed nomenclature. In the past they were referred to as 'chandals', 'avarnas', 'achuts', 'pariahs', 'untouchables', 'outcastes'. Later on, they were called 'depressed classes', the term being popularised by missionaries and social reformers in the first two decades of the twentieth century. B.R. Ambedkar regarded this term as degrading and contemptuous and suggested five alternatives—non-caste Hindus, protestant Hindus, non-conformist Hindus, excluded castes, and exterior castes. In the thirties the term 'harijans' was popularised by Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress. This term was viewed as patronising, an indicator of upper-caste benevolence. Later, the government chose the term 'scheduled castes', which connotes a schedule of castes. This term is used as a nomenclature in the Constitution of the Republic of India. At present, 'dalit' is commonly used.

Daroga

Under the Muslim rule, daroga was the designation of the head of a police (superintendent of police), customs or excise station. Under the British police system, a daroga was the head constable or local chief of police; the station officer who controlled crime within his territorial jurisdiction.

Dasbandam

Rent of which a part is forgiven.

David's Dictum

In any given organisation, at any given time, people are never where they are supposed to be.

Dead Letter Office

The name of an organisation within the postal department where efforts are made to trace the proper destination of letters or mail that are inaccurately or illegibly addressed. The Dead Letter Office is also called the Returned Letter Office.

Debriefing

An aid to communication. It refers to a decision-maker (or his representative) giving applicants or bidders an opportunity to discuss the basis for decisions of acceptance or rejection of their applications. Debriefing sessions clear up misunderstandings and parties learn to understand each other better whereby relationships can be maintained.

Decentralisation

Decentralisation is a word which has special significance in India, vast, diversified and plural as it is. A fairly widely held belief equates centralisation with unmitigated vice while decentralisation is extolled as an unsullied virtue to be sought after avidly.

This image owes itself to two broad intellectual sources. Indian thinking has been advocating devolution of political and administrative powers ever since the Royal Commission upon Decentralisation reported in 1909, a point which broadened into a powerful regular commitment on the part of the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The contemporary western ethos too advocated decentralisation which has indeed, become a very powerful ingredient of what has come to be called as 'new public administration'.

Decentralisation has had its critics as well as admirers in India. The subscribers to the Gandhian philosophy of polity demand a bold shift of decision-making centres close to the people and their highest hope lies in making the village the true unit of self-government.

Sink of localism

Such a move, it may be recalled, was viewed with the deepest suspicion, even alarm, by a man like B.R. Ambedkar, who ventured to consider the village as India's ruination, calling it 'a sink of localism' and 'a den of narrow-mindedness', and even declaring 'I am glad that the Draft

Constitution has discarded the village and adopted the individual as a unit'. Ambedkar's was a rather lonely voice in the sense that no one of significance has taken up his points of criticism openly and political India appears to swear by decentralisation even if it is at the level of mere rhetoric.

The panchayati raj, introduced in India in the wake of the Balvant Rai Mehta team for the study of Community Development and National Extension Service (1957), sought to institutionalise, in its own way, the Gandhian philosophy towards rural India by decentralising political and administrative powers and functions to points closer to the people. It allayed, at the same time, the fears perceived by Ambedkar by its recommending a system of reservation of seats for weaker sections of the population and thus promoting their interests and status. Though introduced with great fanfare, the panchayati raj movement failed to promote decentralisation in any appreciable way and particularly since the mid-1960s itself fell into a state of neglect and stagnation. Meanwhile, the centralist forces have acquired a new vehemence and ferocity.

Requisites

Without entering into a sort of debate over the merits and shortcomings of centralisation and decentralisation one can say confidently that India suffers from excessive centralisation politically, administratively and otherwise, and such a practice entails grave dysfunctionalities for the society at large. A wise course of action for a country of continental dimensions like ours lies in adequate measures of decentralisation of authority and functions to a level below the central and state headquarters and, equally necessary away from the central and state capitals. But decentralisation has certain requisites in the absence of which it cannot be sustained no matter how hard one tries.

Decentralisation requires for its success a homogeneous society, which has emerged in the West but which is either absent or inadequately developed in India as yet. Indian society is greatly heterogeneous, sociologically speaking, which has acquired further sharpness, vividness and weight under the impact of democratic, developmental and bureaucratic politics. In India, people are generally stratified into castes and a state or a region has in most parts a dominant caste flanked by other castes whose members are less numerous. The social stratification and the existence of a permanent majority today in a region or

state and political arithmetic being what it is, creates a psychological climate congenial to migration by the minorities to bigger cities in search of opportunities which are generally denied to them at the place of their birth.

Decentralisation also presupposes a more or less even spread of infrastructural facilities in the country, which implies that a region should be considered neither as extraordinarily desirable nor one that is regarded as a 'punishment station'.

Facilities for education, health, etc., abound in Delhi and other metropolitan cities but begin to shrink as we move away from them. What is more, the medium of instruction in several states has been switched over from English to Hindi and to the regional languages of education in metropolitan cities. This makes parents, who can afford it, send their wards to institutions where the medium of instruction is in English. In India, there is apparently an inordinate longing to be proficient in English, the plain reason being that it is the only language of the employer besides being a language of advancement, higher research and creativity. The story of enlarged facilities in the capital and their inadequacy or absence elsewhere is dutifully repeated in the case of medicine, engineering and other professional subjects.

Consequent upon infrastructural facilities being unevenly spread, decentralisation does not get any reinforcement and support and becomes unsustainable. Socio-economic planning, under way since the 1950s, has given a strong push to the centralist trend. Nor are political parties and processes helpful to the cause of decentralisation. The parties in India are highly centralised in their structure and functioning and such a culture directly promotes centralisation. Nothing can be done without the prior approval of the 'high command' of the ruling party. This is more or less true of other parties too. How superficially decentralisation is practised can be discerned from the fact that officials even in decentralised units are seen to spend more time in Delhi than at their own place. Bureaucrats wish to remain connected with metropolitan areas which is evident from the determination with which they fight to remain in Delhi or other centres of power. It is not a mere coincidence that the small and medium-sized towns in India are in a state of arrested growth, or decay, according to the report of the Task Force on Planning and Development of Small and Medium Towns and Cities (1977). The task force observed:

'It is the slow growth, if not virtual stagnation, of a large body of small and medium towns that gives cause for serious concern'.

To prepare the background for decentralisation and to make it genuine and durable, these trends have not only to be discontinued but reversed. This demands, first and foremost, a fundamental reorientation of overall planning policies, goals and strategies and no less of national attitudes. Infrastructural facilities must be provided all over the country to put all places more or less on par with each other. Indeed, any additional infrastructure in Delhi must be simultaneously established in other parts of the country—to weaken if not to eliminate the centralist pull. Because of the present paucity of infrastructure and other facilities, field posts must meanwhile carry 'field allowances'. A move towards decentralisation without levelling the ground all over the country is bound to be short-lived and meaningless.

To talk conceptually, decentralisation means the transfer of powers from a central to a smaller jurisdiction. This then necessarily entails a reallocation of powers. Decentralisation is marked by a conscious shift of authority from the centre or top to the periphery or the lower levels. It has several advantages:

1. It is a cure for cumbersome decision-making at the centre.
2. It is a means of achieving greater popular participation and of empowering local communities.
3. It is an aid to planning, implementation and effective delivery system.
4. It is a way of generating additional resources.
5. Decentralisation is a necessary precondition for small-scale, ecologically sustainable development.

In the fifties and sixties, decentralisation was advocated to reconstruct local government in a bid to rid it of the colonial fall out. New public administration was invoked to make public administration responsive and responsible. In the 1980s, it was projected as an important element of 'bottom-up' planning. Since the nineties 'decentralisation' stands associated with the concept of new public management and as such there is a shift in its focus on territorial and structural concerns between policy-making and execution.

Decentralised Planning

The need for decentralised planning in India has been felt for a long time. But it was strongly articulated during the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969–74). To

encourage decentralised planning, a state planning machinery in each state was set up but planning in India continued to remain highly centralised. This was its single most pernicious weakness. But the seventy-third and seventy-fourth constitutional amendments (1992) make it mandatory to decentralise planning in India. Centralised planning has throttled balanced and all-round regional development. As a result, people's felt needs have not been reflected in the plans. Particularly, the present mode of planning has not assisted much the weaker sections of the society.

Decentralised planning is bottom-up planning. It is undertaken at the grass-roots level. It involves local people and their organisations. Being closer to the people, it directly meets their needs and aspirations and is thus best suited to enlist people's participation. Being based on citizen participation its implementation would make most effective use of locally available resources. As decentralised planning starts from the lower level it gets integrated with the people and is thus people-oriented.

It is at this stage very necessary to warn that both centralised and decentralised planning are not antithetical. A balanced view would be that they are relative terms and are indeed, complementary to each other. The centralised planning seeks to meet the macro needs of the society whereas decentralised planning focusses on local needs.

Decentralised planning is based on a set of principles. These are:

1. Planning should be based on people's felt needs and maximum use of local resources.
2. People should have a say in articulating needs and fixing priorities.
3. The plan should particularly focus on backward regions and weaker sections of the population.
4. The development targets should be sustainable.
5. Implementation should receive utmost consideration in planning, taking care at the same time, that implementation is cost-effective. An imaginative relationship should be forged with non-governmental organisations.

The seventy-third and seventy-fourth constitutional amendments seek not only to decentralise democracy in India but also to promote socio-economic development. The latter goal is to be achieved through the instrumentality of planning by instituting a district planning committee to consolidate the plans prepared by the panchayats and the municipalities in the district as a whole.

Decision-Theory

The science of problem-solving and of methods employed in making choices under conditions of uncertainty and risk. Decision-theory began to develop in the early twentieth century and grew out of Frederick Winslow Taylor's scientific management. It draws heavily on business economics and mathematics. Decision-theory grew very rapidly after the Second World War largely due to the development of cybernetics and operation research. Decision-making is included under 'D' (that is, direction) of Luther Gulick's acronym POSDCORB.

It is a branch of applied mathematics and as said earlier, is designed to formalise the notion of rational choice under conditions of risk and uncertainty. It makes use of the theory of probability and computes the relative costs of different courses of action on the basis of their expected outcome. Decision-theory is based on cost-benefit analysis.

Decrementalism

While incrementalism is the normal course of financial behaviour, reverse incrementalism may also be used in times of budget-cutting. This is decrementalism, which cuts agency budgets and programmes by a limited percentage in times of a national financial crunch. Often, recourse to this is taken as a political play. Decrementalism has become a seriously discussed topic since the 1970s when policy-makers began to talk about retreat of the state.

Deductive

From general to particular.

De facto and De Jure

De facto means 'In operation, in reality', 'in fact'. De jure means 'in law' or 'legal authority'.

Deferred Bribe

Deferred bribe refers to the acceptance of a high-salaried position in the industry upon the bureaucrat's retirement (or resignation) from government service given for favours done when the bureaucrat was in power.

Peter Blau

Peter Blau's study an organisations showed that law enforcement agencies were offered bribes which used to be overlooked by the officials. The reasons underlying why such cases were not reported for prosecution were the following:

1. The inspectors sympathised with the business owners who had to work amidst complex rules and regulations.
2. Bribes in business circles are not viewed as improper acts but as a cost-cutting move. The businessman wants to

avoid protracted expensive administrative proceedings.

Peter Blau thus showed that informed control over behaviour operates. He observed that members value what the group has to offer and a group is welded by friendship, common interests and mutual protection.

Deferred Gratification

A sociological concept. According to the concept, individuals postpone immediate pleasure or consumption to a future date when an enhanced return is assured. Candidates for the IAS and allied services competitive examination work very hard and thus forgo present pleasure in the expectation of rich future rewards. Rewards, for instance, begin to flow to the individual at a future date when he has entered the service. Deferred gratification is an act of not availing present satisfaction in the hope of greater satisfaction in the future. It is a particularly middle-class attribute.

Deficit Financing

Deficit financing refers to the policy whereby the government spends more than its income, either by taking recourse to borrowing or by printing more notes and thus by expanding money-supply. The use of deficit financing was advocated by John Maynard Keynes (1938–1946).

Delivery System

The delivery system refers to the organisational network at the cutting edge of administration responsible for providing, in proper sequence and in time, the various services necessary for the realisation of targeted goals. Inputs must be made available and outputs must be ensured so that the pre-set target is reached. A part of field administration, the delivery system had remained neglected until the seventies. Since the 1970s increasing attention has been paid to energise this level of administration.

Dependent Economies

The nature of a post-colonial economy of a country which was developed by the colonial ruler primarily to feed the latter's requirements and priorities. Developing countries, which were the colonies of European powers until recently, have inherited economies structured on the philosophies, paradigms and bureaucracies of the colonising countries. Their economies continue to remain dependent on and dominated by these countries. The developing countries are producers of primary commodities which they themselves do not consume but are exported and whose prices are dictated by the metropolitan countries. This creates a syndrome of dependency of the

post-colonial countries on the metropolitan countries of the West. The relationship makes the developing countries susceptible to western influence, and domination in not only the economic area but also in the larger political and social spheres. This gives birth to an economy which is of the plantation type, inevitably resulting in a loss of self-reliance.

The implications of such an economic system are far-reaching. A change in the metropolitan country inevitably triggers off a change in the ex-colony. A recession in the metropolitan country is apt to produce a corresponding recession in the developing country. Metropolitan countries, in other words, still control the destiny of the developing countries. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which are the dominant international financial institutions in the world today, are under the domination and control of the advanced countries of the West and are thus the spokesmen of the western ideology which they promote through their policies. This is but neo-colonialism.

Deregulation

The term has been in vogue since the seventies when the public sector consciously set out to divest itself of controls over a wide range of economic activity. Deregulation is synonymous with Thatcherism. India has also been committed to a policy of deregulation since the nineties but the progress made in the divesting of controls and regulations has been slow and uneven.

Descriptive Memoirs of Ministries in the Government of India

When India achieved its independence in 1947, its machinery of governance was showing clear signs of wear and tear. The period immediately preceding 1947 was totally preoccupied by an overall concern to win the Second World War (1939–45). It was believed that once the war was over and peace returned, the dilapidated public administration of the country would be put back on the rails and restored to its original level of health and efficiency. This was not to be. The end of the war was followed by quick political changes culminating in India's partition and independence in 1947. This further weakened the administrative system. In such a situation, ad hocism was the way of responding to administrative tasks including improvement in the administrative system. Even the basic information on public administration of the country was missing. There was even no account available of the machinery of government in India. The first

task of the newly established O&M division, rightly, was to 'know yourself'—that is to undertake the preparation of what were known as the descriptive memoirs of the ministries of the Government of India. A typical descriptive memoir described the origin of the ministry, its major functions and its internal composition, giving also its organisational chart. Its staffing strength was also outlined. In all, twenty-three descriptive memoirs were brought out by the O&M division in the first two years (1954 and 1955) of its existence. These covered the following ministries/organisations:

1. Cabinet Secretariat;
2. Ministry of Commerce and industry;
3. Ministry of Communications;
4. Ministry of Education;
5. Election Commission;
6. Ministry of External Affairs;
7. Ministry of Health;
8. Ministry of Irrigation and Power;
9. Ministry of Labour;
10. Ministry of Law;
11. Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research;
12. Department of Parliamentary Affairs;
13. Planning Commission;
14. President's Secretariat;
15. Prime Minister's Secretariat;
16. Ministry of Production;
17. Ministry of Railways (Railway Board);
18. Ministry of Rehabilitation;
19. Ministry of States;
20. Ministry of Transport;
21. Union Public Service Commission; and
22. Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply.

The O&M division covered a very wide area and by bringing out brief monographs on individual ministries of the Government of India, it filled a large acutely felt gap in the understanding of the elephantine administrative structure of the Government of India. One has to go back to the early period of the Republic to appreciate the significance of the task accomplished. Yet, surprisingly one cannot fail to note two significant omissions. The O&M division did not bring out a descriptive memoir on the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Defence. These three ministries are traditionally viewed as being of paramount importance in India; indeed, these, so to say, verily make up the Government of India. Secondly, the O&M division left itself out, and did not bring a separate monograph on itself and thus did not cover what was one of the first administrative innovations in the government after independence.

Deshmukh

A zamindar or chief of a division.

Deshpande

A keeper of accounts in a small district.

Desk Officer System of Staffing

The desk officer system of staffing is a measure of administrative reform designed to quicken decision-making in government and cut down delay. The desk officer system was introduced in the Government of India in January 1973. It operates in selected parts of the ministries where at least forty per cent of the work relates to policy-making, planning and problem-solving. Each desk comprises two officers of the rank of section officer or under secretary or both. The section officer submits cases directly to the deputy secretary while the under secretary submits files to the joint secretary, the underlying idea being to altogether abolish the section with its essential complement of assistants, upper division clerks (UDCs), lower division clerks (LDCs), daftaries, peons, etc. The essence of the desk officer system lies in the reduction of the levels of administration which will help in the reduction of noting and lay emphasis on oral discussion as a means to expedite matters. Each desk is given a defined area of functioning. The desk officers are allowed to authenticate orders and sanctions in the name of the president and to dispose of cases on their own responsibility. A great merit of the desk officer system lies in its reduced dependence on the clerical staff comprising assistants, UDCs, LDCs, etc. But its weakness lies in its being under-staffed as a desk is provided with only one assistant. The desk's working inevitably gets disrupted whenever even one member goes on leave. The further expansion of the desk-oriented system of staffing and working is opposed by the clerical staff as the latter view the scheme as a threat to its security. This system is also known as an officer-oriented system of staffing and working in government.

Development Administration

In a sense, development administration is as old as the hills: public administration is itself development administration in the philosophical sense. But as a subcategory it is a new emergence, indeed a post-Second World War (1939–45) development. Because it is new, it is a nebulous concept suffering from a surfeit of definitions. A few definitions of the term are given below:

Development administration is defined as 'administration of the process of economic development' (*A Dictionary of the Social*

Science, by Hugo F. Reading, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977, p. 12). According to Fred W. Riggs who is an outstanding scholar in the field, development administration 'refers to organised efforts to carry out programmes or projects thought by those involved to serve developmental objectives. The phrase (development administration) arises by simple analogy, with such expressions as agricultural administration, educational administration, and social administration, each of which involves organised efforts to implement agricultural, educational, and social welfare programmes, respectively.' Donald Stone defines it as 'the blending of all the elements and resources (human and physical) ... into a concerted effort to achieve agreed upon goals'. He further observes: 'It (development administration) is the continuous cycle of formulating, evaluating and implementing interrelated plans, policies, programmes, projects, activities and other measures to reach established development objectives in a scheduled time sequence.' George Gant observes:

> Development is the term used to denote the complex of agencies, management systems and processes a government establishes to achieve its development goals. It is the public mechanism set up to relate the several components' of development in order to articulate and accomplish national social and economic objectives. It is the adjustment of the bureaucracy to the vastly increased functions required to respond to public demands for development. Development administration is the administration of policies, programmes and projects to serve development purposes.

A U.N. publication of 1975 even goes to the extent of opting for the term 'development administration' in place of traditional public administration. It observes that the term 'development administration' emphasises that 'the focus of attention is on the building and improvement of a public administration system as part of the total effort of national development'. Further, it covers both the administration of development (i.e. public administration as an instrument of national development) and the development of administration (i.e. measures to enhance the administrative capacity for development).

The content of development administration is still evolving. Its first and foremost concern was with poverty. In the initial period of independence, the concern of development administration was

economic, that is, concerned with raising the people's standard of living. Its foremost concern was to promote economic growth and to increase production. During the 1950s and 1960s, development was virtually identified with economic growth—with the increase in GNP. The exclusive emphasis on economic growth, however, gave birth to imbalances and other hardships in the developing countries. The evaluation of these growth-oriented plans disclosed that economic growth increased alongside increasing poverty and unemployment among the masses. The inequalities between the rich and the poor were increasing. In recognition of such anomalies, the goal of development came to be redefined as growth-with-justice. That is, the objectives of development became reduction or elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment within the context of a growing economy.

Development administration had to wrestle with many other problems as well. Some suggested that transfer of technology would solve the problem of poverty in developing countries. Others wanted these countries to change their attitudes and traditions as part of the discipline of development, forgetting to ask themselves that if traditions are to be removed, what would ultimately remain in the societies? Sometimes, the Indian family system was viewed as unfriendly to development. These are facile, erroneous observations. The strength of the joint family system is now being realised when one looks at the top industrial houses in India: a joint family is a supporting asset of development, not its enemy.

Nor was development to overlook the task of nation-building, i.e. to achieve national unity and to weld together people with diverse cultural and racial backgrounds so that they feel one with a commonly shared destiny. A sense of nationhood was to be developed. Getting India independent was not enough: the task has since been to make Indians out of us, who are basically Punjabis, Bengalis, Biharis, etc.

Today, the concept of development has become more encompassing and humanistic, its latest concept being 'sustainable development'. In the words of the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), which coined this phrase, sustainable development is 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. Sustainable development is, thus, environment-friendly and sensitive to the generations yet unborn.

There is, thus, a broadening of

the concept of development. To recall, in the 1950s and even the 1960s, development was interpreted in purely economic (GNP) terms. This definition proved sadly deficient and inadequate. Economic growth was then supplemented by social justice. Other dimensions were also gradually added. Development is now to take care of the total human being, who has his social and cultural dimensions too. No longer is Mother Earth to be plundered in the name of development. Pollution must be controlled: forests must be preserved, wildlife is to be protected. In other words, development must be environment-friendly. The needs and requirements of posterity must be equally protected. Development, today is being defined in holistic terms.

At one time, a dichotomy existed between development administration and traditional or regulatory administration. Development administration was concerned with, say agriculture, education, etc. Administration of law and order, on the other hand, was part of the traditional or regulatory administration. Indian planners are still in the habit of classifying public activities into 'plan activities' and 'non-plan activities'. Police, for instance, is a non-plan item. Nevertheless, the dichotomy between development administration and the so-called regulatory administration was evidently senseless. Development cannot occur without firm law and order in society. What is more, development itself is a tension-generating process: its successes inevitably beget new social concerns, demanding the attention of development administration. In this light, we may consider as the most acceptable and practical the definition of development administration given by Irving Swerdlow. Development administration, in his view, is 'administration in poor countries'.

The activities coming under the broad purview of development administration may be called 'discrete' and 'diffuse'. A fertiliser factory or a steel plant, where the completion time can be more or less firmly estimated, is a discrete activity. But many activities in public administration are not amenable to any time estimation. One cannot, for instance, determine the terminal date for rural development or community development. A vast area claiming the attention of development administration deals with diffuse operations. Activities in this category are complex and intricate, and cannot be subject to PERT (Programme Evaluation and Review Technique)/CPM (Critical Path Method).

The accent of development administration is on change or

on planned change. John Montgomery defines development administration as carrying out planned change both in the economy and in the social services. Harry Friedman's definition includes two elements—'the implementation of programmes designed to bring about modernity and the changes within the administrative system which increase its capacity to implement such programmes'. Fred W. Riggs views development administration as 'a process leading to an increasing ability to make collective decisions, especially decisions that involve long-term environmental changes'. The emphasis on change becomes transparent in the following observation, which was made regarding the intensive agricultural developmental programme, which was but a part of the developmental programmes of India:

> The main objective of the intensive agricultural development programme is to accelerate the rate of growth by bringing about a basic change in the situation in which it operates. The main purpose of the administrative system that India has inherited is on the other hand, to ensure security and hence allow only the minimum possible change. The intensive agricultural development programme puts a premium on the technician who is the harbinger of change. The Indian administrative system gives primacy to the administrator whose main function is to lay down and administer the rules designed to ensure conformity. The basic idea of intensive agricultural development programme is that it should be a tailor-made programme to suit the needs of a particular area which can be adjusted by the local authorities promptly and effectively as and when the situation changes. The main concern of the Indian administrative system has been to lay down general patterns of conformity to which the areas must adjust rather than otherwise and leave the least possible discretion to the authorities lower down in the hierarchical structure.

One must note the prevalence of several terms in competition with each other such as development administration and development management. These are more or less synonymous. Riggs's definition is more comprehensive covering all the three parts: (i) organisations, (ii) programmes and projects and (iii) developmental objectives.

In the contemporary world, to

repeat, development administration became manifest in the early 1950s, with the implementation of the Marshall Plan in Europe. The principal objective of the Marshall Plan was to rebuild Europe's basic infrastructure and industrial capacity in order to promote economic development and political stability. The lending institutions in this effort were the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), and the Economic Commission for Europe.

The history of development administration since 1950s fall into four broad phases, each phase characterised by a dominant paradigm:

1. Removal of poverty was the pressing demand when countries such as India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka got independence following the Second World War. The obvious emphases were on economic development and growth during the 1950s and 1960s.

2. A paradigm shift took place from mid-1960s to mid-1970s. This period which was the second one was dominated by planning and policy analysis in development administration. Impetus to planning came from World Bank economic missions to developing countries in the 1950s and John F. Kennedy's (president of the U.S.) Alliance for Progress in Latin America. Countries receiving foreign aid were asked to emphasise planning and development. Under the name of development, poverty was not decreasing, which caused concern everywhere. Development was thus impregnated with a larger meaning, the new emphases being on development with social justice. The fourth phase took place around the seventies when yet another turn took place. A public policy movement was sweeping through U.S. academia. McNamara's Department of Defence provided the lead by the development and application of the Planning, Programming, Budgeting System (PPBS). Schools of public policy were set up at the Harvard University, (Kennedy School of Public Policy) and University of California at Berkeley. The current wave emphasised the importance of policy analysis for solving public problems. As the U.S.A. was the largest aid-giving country, it encouraged the adoption of policy-analysis as part of national planning in development countries.

Riggs, Fred W.: 'The Concept of Development Administration', Fred W. Riggs (ed.): *Frontiers of Development Administration*, Durnham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1971.

Devolution

Devolution essentially belongs

to the larger family of decentralisation, delegation and deconcentration. *Chambers Twenty-First Century Dictionary* defines this term as 'the act of devolving especially the giving of certain power to a regional government by a central government.' 'It is the transfer of duties, power, etc., to someone else. 'Devolution' refers, as well, to a transfer of power from the centre to a local authority.

The need for devolution flows from three principal sources. The first is the periphery itself. For example Jammu and Kashmir in India demands a transfer of more powers from the central government. The argument is that the region has its separate ethnic and cultural identity which it seeks to preserve and which cannot be protected by the centre. Other regions in India are Jharkhand in Bihar, Gorkhaland in North Bengal and Badoland in Assam. The request for devolution may come from the centre itself. The seventy-third and the seventy-fourth amendments of the Constitution in 1992, empowering and constitutionalising the local government in India, gave it control over itself instead of depending on the centre's initiative and leadership. The third factor propelling devolution maybe because of the opposition to the concept of a nation-state. Many thinkers believe that the modern nation-state cannot meet people's aspirations and its hold must be loosened. Devolution is the spokesman of the periphery.

Dewan

Title of the chief revenue officer under the Mughals. It is also the title of the chief administrator of a princely state.

Dialectic

The process by which developments in history as in any other activity are caused by resolution of contradictions between thesis and anti-thesis, resulting in synthesis.

Dillon's Rule

Dillon's Rule that municipal governments are the creations of the state legislatures and thus derive their power and authority from the latter was propounded in 1868 in a court case by Iowa Supreme Court justice, John E. Dillon. A direct federal funding of local government circumvents this law.

Dimock, Marshall Edward

Marshall Edward Dimock (1903–1991) has been among the foremost public administrationists of the United States. His supreme concern was humanity, his argument being that humanity and balance mark the profession of

public administration. His principal works are the following:

1. *Public Administration*: co-authorship with Gladys Ogden Dimock
2. *A Philosophy of Administration*
3. *Administrative Vitality*
4. *Business and Government*

Dimock extolled the centrality of ethics in public administration. He viewed with dismay and concern the unchecked growth of bureaucracy which has a dehumanising effect on the profession of public administration.

Directed Discussion

A constructive discussion where the scope is restricted and the direction is pre-fixed. A directed discussion assumes that the participants know enough about the subject to be able to participate effectively. It is uniquely suited to stimulate thought and discussion. Stanley Baldwin has rightly said: 'I am not struck so much by the diversity of testimony as by the many-sidedness of truth'.

Directive

Directive is a regulation or legislation of the European Union and is practically binding. It is also called recommendations under the Paris Treaty of 1951 establishing the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952. It is the process by which a public enterprise divests itself of the responsibility of managing it by liquidation or privatisation.

Disaster Management

A disaster is a totally unmanaged phenomenon. Disaster management has become a major theme of the day and governmental attention has begun to be given to this area, particularly since the seventies. *The Random House Unabridged Dictionary* defines 'disaster' as a calamitous event, especially one occurring suddenly and causing great loss of life, damage or hardship, as a flood, airplane crash, or business failure. The World Health Organisation defines disaster as 'any occurrence that causes damage, economic destruction, loss of human life and deterioration in health and health services on a scale sufficient to warrant an extraordinary response from outside the affected community or area.' A widely acceptable definition of disaster is provided by C. Fritz. According to him, disaster is 'an event, concentrated in time and space, in which a society ... undergoes severe danger and incurs such losses to its members and physical appurtenances that the social structure is disrupted and the fulfilment of all or of the essential functions of the society is prevented'.[1] Disasters may be an

act of God or an act of man. The former category are natural disasters, examples being floods, droughts, cyclones, earthquakes, etc. They may be man-made also such as riots, conflicts, fire, epidemics, industrial accidents, environmental fallouts, etc. Natural disasters account for eighty per cent of disasters all over the world. According to the insurance industry, natural disasters represent as high as eighty-five per cent of insured catastrophe losses globally. On an average, twenty natural disasters occur all over the world every year. The natural disaster can be further classified into two sub-categories if it is viewed from another angle. Earthquakes, which are sudden with no prior warning, form one sub-category in which probably also falls volcanic eruptions. Floods, hurricanes, etc., fall into the second sub-category. These disasters do give some sort of prior warning of their arrival. Both these sub-categories have, however, one thing in common: they are caused by phenomena beyond the control of man. Under man-made disasters falls another sub-category: the disaster which follows the application of sanctions against some countries. The application of sanctions inflicts hardships on such countries for which international relief is organised: the relief is in the nature of compensation for the economic deprivations imposed on them.

An expected response to a disaster is initiating relief programmes, and today a large number of relief organisations have come up. Voluntary organisations can and do play an effective role in this newly emerged space. Looking into the emerging interest in disaster management, the United Nations set up in 1971 an international body, the United Nations Disaster Relief Office (UN-DRO). The UN-DRO gives advice on pre-disaster planning and coordinates disaster relief from the international community. This agency, located at Geneva, works very closely with the United Nations Development Programme.

The nineties has been declared by the United Nations as the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction. Work in this field continues under the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction. This underlines a global well-organised action for reduction of occurrences of natural disasters and for minimisation of the impact of such hazards. Stress is laid on improved methods of detection of a disaster, proper risk assessment and efficient management. Coordination among various governmental and specialised agencies is particularly necessary during the post-disaster phase. In

crisis situations various agencies and the government must necessarily play complementary roles. Planning is an essential part of disaster management. It must make explicit the preparedness by way of measures to withstand disaster. A disaster-prone country must be ready with a national disaster preparedness plan with subplans on specific disasters. The rescue and relief work must be a part of the plan.

Disaster is a common enough feature in India. During the period 1988–97, disasters in India killed 5,116 persons and affected 29.79 million each year. In 1998, nearly 10,000 people were killed and 34 million people affected by disaster. An earthquake hit Uttar Kashi, North India in 1991, and later, Maharashtra, in 1993.

The primary responsibility for disaster management in India rests with the states under the Constitution. But the federal government cannot remain unconcerned and uninvolved especially when disasters are spread over more than one state. The central Ministry of Agriculture deals directly with such disaster and related problems. The relief commissioner within the ministry functions as a nodal officer to organise and coordinate all relief measures to meet natural disasters. Under the chairmanship of the central relief commissioner exists the crisis management group comprising representatives of various concerned ministries to review and formulate measures required to deal with natural disasters.

At the state level, natural disasters are the responsibility of the revenue department or the relief department. The district is the cutting edge of disaster management and the district collector is the acknowledged crisis leader. At the district level the managerial power to fight a disaster situation is vested in the district collector.

Disaster management in India

India claims a broad blueprint of disaster management since the earliest days of the Raj. Disasters are grouped in a fourfold classification which may cover most of their various manifestations. Occurrences like earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are a class unto themselves owing themselves to natural forces beyond man's effective control. They occur without any prior knowledge or warning, catching us completely unawares. The destruction caused by them is total, and the administrative action both in saving lives and reconstructional and rehabilitational efforts required is tremendous. Floods and droughts, although caused by nature's fury, are, to some degree, amenable to human control, thanks to our

increasing understanding of these phenomena and our capability to manipulate the situation caused by them. These occurrences are sharply different from other natural disasters inasmuch as they do not burst upon us with complete suddenness so characteristic of earthquakes and volcanoes and further, are subject to human control, thereby neutralising, at least theoretically speaking, the force of their impact on the affected population. Riots of various kinds have political or social causes. Their colour may be communal, linguistic, regional or economic but their most striking feature is the confrontation, sooner or later, with the law-enforcement machinery of the state. Their origins are generally rooted in the social and economic systems of the country and are as much a reflection of a diseased state of affairs in the society as of an incompetent public administration in anticipating tensions and taking remedial action well in time. Another category of situations are really crisis situations encountered by public administration and comprise anaemic phenomena such as 'satyagrah', hunger-strikes, street demonstrations, processions, squatting on rail-tracks, 'bandhs', 'gheraos', burning and looting of public property, hijacking, etc. Essentially and fundamentally, they are all protest movements, their target being the government and the main objective being to tilt governmental decision-making in their favour. Being rooted in the social and economic arrangements of the community, these phenomena are much more complex in nature. It has been said in many quarters that the country has experienced more riots—and police firings—since independence than during the entire period of the British Raj. What is more, the future is likely to see more riots and protest movements in newer manifestations, higher frequency and larger allegiances.

On a closer analysis, a disaster may really fall into the two broad groups: (i) natural, and (ii) social, political. Earthquakes, volcanoes, floods and famines belong to the former category and riots and anaemic phenomena come under the social-political one. The first category of events alone constitutes the disaster situations, and the second one falls really in the category of crisis. While the first group is generally characterised by total mobilisation, both governmental and popular, the aim being common, namely alleviation of human sufferings, the second presents confrontational occasions, making the government the other party to the dispute. The disaster cited in the present work may confront any level of

government in the country—central, state or even local—but its impact is direct and severest on the lower-level state government. A large percentage of protest movements presently directed against the centre are only vicarious in nature concerning, as they in fact do, the state government; they seek central action in areas falling under the state's jurisdiction under the Constitution or expect the Government of India to influence decision-making in a particular state in a certain direction. Verily, disaster administration is a phenomenon characteristic of the states, and is only indirectly felt by New Delhi. Quite expectedly, the centre cannot keep itself completely unconcerned with them, and particularly in crisis situations, the human suffering entailed is so enormous that the centre has to keep up the morale of the ill-fated state and back it up by financial and other assistance.

Although a disaster is ordinarily a sudden development it does not necessarily find public administration completely unprepared and destitute of any knowledge of how to react to such a state of affairs. In a sense, disasters are as real as, say, small pox: their recurrences are by no means entirely unknown. The government has programmed its decision-making to cope up with some of the more common disasters. The 'Famine Code' was finalised before the turn of the last century to deal with the state of affairs created by famines. The government has a master plan on riots, called the 'Riot Scheme' (or 'Emergency Scheme') which it unfolds in the event of a riot.

The term 'disaster' must not be equated with 'emergency', although according to the dictionary they are synonyms. This is because in India the word 'emergency' has acquired a constitutional connotation. Part XVIII of the Indian Constitution running from 352 to 360 articles incorporates the 'emergency provisions' and delineates three kinds of emergency: (i) emergency created by external aggression and internal disturbance, (ii) emergency on account of failure of constitutional machinery in the states (the well-known article 356), and (iii) financial emergency.

Distinguishing features of disaster administration

It needs to be emphasised at the outset that the discussion under this sub-heading is more pertinent to the first group of disasters—the 'natural ones'. The vitality and worth of public administration is tested at the time of a natural disaster. The qualities of men and traditions of administration come to the forefront at

such times. As time is the essence of the matter there is a willing, even permissible short-circuiting of decision-making. It does not—and should not—imply that snap decisions are encouraged during such troubled times: even in the gravest of disasters there is some time left for consultation and discussion. Decisions are mostly taken on the spot across the table or over the telephone and all this implies a conscious de-emphasis on notings and similar written communications. Need for action-orientated plans is felt to be so overwhelming that organisational principles of hierarchy, unity of command, etc. are made very flexible. The officials are too pressed by problems of the moment to give the time and attention needed for the niceties of written orders, hierarchical compliances, work through proper channels, etc. Master plans if they have already been prepared are quickly unfurled and put into operation. Evaluation and review of the situation are more regular, less casual and the resultant feedback becomes an integral part of the administrative action. The luxury of large-sized, slow-moving conferences and meetings is dispensed with, and meetings become compact, businesslike and serious affairs. In short, public administration faced with such a state of affairs remains sharply focussed on objectives. Depending on the assessment of the disaster, short shrift is deliberately given to the routine way of transacting public business. The observation of W.B. Brett, relief commissioner in Bihar and Orissa at the time of the Bihar earthquake of 1934 that 'throughout there was a complete absence of red tape'[2] is characteristic of public administration in times of disaster. Brett goes on to describe the newly emerged ethos of public administration and community in the face of the human calamity caused by a natural disaster.

> Everywhere the emergency (reference is to the Bihar earthquake of 1934) exhibited the people in a very favourable light. The officers of government took immediate and effective charge of the situation. The measures which they took to meet the strange situation which developed in so sudden a fashion were sensible and usually adequate. They were loyally supported by the officials of the district boards and municipalities and by private gentlemen of influence. Old differences were forgotten in the common danger and all classes, creeds and parties cooperated in the work. Good humour prevailed, and the crop of amusing stories of

earthquake contretemps which became current showed that the people could still see the lighter aspect of calamity. Many threw themselves wholeheartedly into the work of rescue, which was often extremely dangerous, without being able to look after their own dependants. Special credit is due to the police of all ranks who worked unremittingly in rescuing the injured and in performing the numerous unusual tasks which arose. Government issued a special resolution commending the service of the police. In a number of places there were attempts at profiteering on the part of traders. But public opinion was overwhelmingly against them and a few simple measures were usually sufficient to bring prices down to reasonable levels. In some places supplies were short and it was necessary to organise fresh supplies.'[3]

Since a disaster is a distressing state of affairs, a broad identity of outlook develops in those directly involved. In the process, even the demarcation line between governmental and citizen organisations becomes blurred. Integration of various efforts becomes easier, if not nearly spontaneous. Surely, all this is not a complete replacement of the legal-rational concept of bureaucracy but is basically in the nature of an overlay of the traditional administrative system.

All these features are lauded, but not necessarily copied in normal public administration—and for sounder reasons. Efficiency of public administration must never hinge on abnormal occasions but instead should be routinised. The quest for administrative reform must be unceasing. But to adhere to ways and styles of transacting public business appropriate for abnormal events long after the return of the normal situation is unwarranted, undesirable and risky. The ethos of abnormal times is different and is hard—rather impossible—to sustain with the passing over of the disaster situation. If certain features of disaster management are discovered to be very functional, these ought to be formally adopted by modifying the existing rules: invoking them at the back of formal rules and regulations should be decried.

To expect that human nature is at its noblest form during tragic occurrences and vices like avarice, corruption, etc., surface only after the crisis is over is an over-optimistic view. Unfortunately, even a severe calamity has its political and economic facets, which easily lend themselves to exploitation by those so inclined. The case of famines may be cited to drive home this point. During the

period 1971–1974 an expenditure of nearly Rs 740 crores had been incurred as famine relief in all the states of India. 'The roads and other structures supposed to have been built up as famine relief works are either not built up at all or disappear almost within a year. Occurrence of each famine—real or imaginary—is welcomed by officials and politicians as a heaven sent opportunity to enrich themselves. In the process, the famine stricken people get only a fraction of what is supposed to be sent on famine relief.'[4]

Many situations falling under disaster management entail human hardship on a massive scale. In addition to the governmental energy directed towards alleviation of this suffering, relief societies are organised to collect subscriptions and donations from members of the public and to distribute these among the distressed. These organisations are launched both under governmental and non-governmental auspices, the latter being often political in their affiliations. These relief organisations have a long history in India and have rendered commendable service to the suffering. One of the earliest such organisations was the Bihar Central Relief Committee under the chairmanship of Dr Rajendra Prasad set up in the wake of the Bihar earthquake of 15 January 1934. It accomplished a great deal of extremely useful work. But as W.B. Brett, relief commissioner in Bihar and Orissa, observed in his report on the Bihar earthquake: 'The practical difficulties of making a just distribution of such grants (by it) among a host of competing claimants are so great that it is doubtful whether any private organisation could overcome them. A relief society which is largely identified with a particular political party encounters these difficulties in an accentuated form.' Such are the limitations of these bodies when actuated by the most sublime of motives. In the context of a steep and universal fall in public morality in the country since independence, it is permissible to speculate on a corresponding fall in standards of management of such relief organisations as well. The popular memory is proverbially short, and the seamier side of disaster management, too, tends to be forgotten once the disaster has passed over.

[1]Firtz, C.: 'Disasters' in R. Merton and R. Nisher (eds.): *Social Problem*, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1961, p. 655.

[2]*A Report on the Bihar Earthquake and on the Measures in consequences thereof up to 31st December 1934*, Patna, Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1935, p. 17.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 16.

[4]*Basic Statistics relating to the India Economy*, vol. II: Bombay, Commerce Research Bureau, 1974, Table 9.3.

Discounted Cash-Flow

This is based on the simple fact that one rupee received today is more valuable than one rupee to be received after one year. One rupee of today would start earning interest immediately. Likewise, one rupee spent now costs more than one rupee to be spent in the future because the former could be earning interest in the meantime. Discounted cash-flow technique is the application of a suitable rate of discount to forecasts of additional outlay and income to a project. Discounted cash-flow is used widely in cost-benefit analysis. As discounted cash-flow is premised on the simple philosophy, namely money in the hand is worth more than money in prospect, the estimated future cash flow from a project is discounted to arrive at its present value. If the estimated return compares favourably with the prospective rates obtainable from its alternative uses to which the capital might be put, the project may be considered to be sound.

Disinvestment

Disinvestment is the withdrawal of invested funds in public undertakings, sale of business holdings invested in governmental bodies. Also known as divestment.

Dismissal

Dismissal refers to removal of an employee from office or service. It is a punishment meaning separation of an employee from employment. Other terms, which are synonymous, are discharge, termination, and 'to fire'. It is different from lay-off, which is termination of an individual's employment for reasons totally unrelated to his conduct or performance. As said, dismissal is a punishment—harshest at that—meted out by the employer for the employee's offence. It is associated with stigma, which even hampers his further employability, and is the harshest managerial response to an offence committed by an employee.

District Roads

The branch roads of the state and national highways to serve as the main roads for intra-district movements. They traverse the length and breadth of a district to connect the areas of production and marketing in the district to one another and to the national highways.

Diwan

The head officer of finance and

revenue, almost always a Hindu. The term is of Mughal origin.

Diwani

Revenue department; revenue collection rights. Literally, diwani means 'both the function and the right to administer revenue collection.' But in practice the term refers to a particular historical event. By this title the East India Company became receivers—generally in perpetuity—of the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, under a grant obtained by Lord Clive, from the Mughal emperor Shah Alam, in A.D. 1765.

Diwani-adalat

A court for trying revenue and other civil cases.

Double talk

A form of prevalent hypocrisy. Double talk refers to laws, regulations and policies that formally prescribe certain behaviour, but effectively permit contrary behaviour. A common administrative behaviour in the prismatic society.

Downsizing

The Chambers Twenty-First Century Dictionary defines downsizing as 'the practice of reducing the size of a workforce'. Originally used in the U.S.A. for reducing the size of cars, the term entered the public administration lexicon in the 1970s. It is part of cutback management, meaning reducing the size, scope and number of governmental functions leading to reduction in the number of government servants. It refers to shrinking of the size of the workforce in an organisation.

Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)

Tamil regional party led by M. Karunanidhi.

Dry Lease

Leasing out an item for a definite term without the facility to operate or activate it. For example, an airline company may lease aeroplanes to another company but without crew.

Due Process of Law

'Due process ensures that the law shall not be arbitrary, unreasonable or capricious'. On the contrary, 'procedure established by law' leaves the legislature free to define the conditions of personal liberty as it thinks fit.

Due process of law is a term in use in Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence and means fundamental fairness in legal procedures. Fundamental fairness connotes protection against search without warrant, access to law courts, open trial, and other safeguards essential for personal liberty. These are among the safeguards to protect personal liberty but the concept has not

been fully and comprehensively defined. What is mentioned are inalienable rights which the courts can declare as unconstitutional and thus void. Due process of law is enshrined in Great Britain and the U.S.A. but not in India, where 'procedure established by law' prevails. In other words, in India, it is the legislature which is free to define the conditions of personal liberty as it thinks fit. The Constitution of India provides that no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except 'according to the procedure established by law'.

Durbar

The court of a king or a higher official. The court or place in which a sovereign or viceroy gives audience.

E

Earmarked Revenue

Earmarked revenue refers to revenue derived from a particular tax or charge which is to be used for financing, in full or in part, a specific enterprise to benefit the specifically earmarked public. An example of earmarked revenue is the motor fuel tax in the U.S.A., the collection from which is used for financing construction of highways. In other words, it refers to that revenue which is dedicated for specific purposes. The practice of earmarked revenue decreases flexibility in the matter of use of funds but is advantageous for gaining support for particular programmes. Changing earmarked sources requires extraordinary efforts as this demands going against previous political mandates or contractual commitments.

East India Company

The British came to India for the limited purpose of trading but eventually emerged as rulers. And this rule lasted for more than 300 years. On the last day of the sixteenth century, a charter was granted to a group of merchants by Britain's Queen Elizabeth, making them 'one bodies corporate and politique'. Under this charter, some funds were raised and an expedition consisting of some vessels sailed on 22 April 1601. In January 1630, the company of merchants, popularly known as the East India Company was granted a *firman* by the Mughal emperor authorising the establishment of a British factory at Surat. Slowly, Britain's territorial positions began to expand. Around 1653, Fort George in Madras was acquired and constituted into a presidency. British officers in this presidency consisted of only two soldiers and two factors.

In 1661, the king of England married the Infanta Catherine of Portugal and the island of Bombay was given in the dowry. The king gave it to the East India Company on an annual rent of ten pounds in gold. Bombay was fortified by the East India Company and a system of administration with a grade-system of writers, factors and merchants was adopted. This system of administration was extended to other presidencies as the territory expanded.

Time passed and the trading

interests of the company compelled it to move into the area of governance. In 1765, the diwani for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was transferred by Shah Alam, the weak Mughal emperor in Delhi, to the East India Company. 'Diwani' stands for the civil government and since then, the East India Company was both the ruler and the trader. With the passage of time the company shed its trading function and emerged as ruler.

The writers, a grade in the civil service, were recruited on the basis of patronage but three years' training was compulsory for them before they were sent to India. The College at Haileybury was set up in 1806 and it remained in existence till 30 January 1858. Admission to the college stopped after 1856 when patronage was replaced by recruitment on merit.

The year 1833 is a significant year in the administrative history of India. Until then, the whole of the civil and military government in India was vested in the governor-general of Fort William in Bengal. The 1833 Act removed all disqualifications for office on account of race, creed or colour and thus, it promised the employment of Indians—or natives as was the word in use. But the doors were open for the subordinate services only. The subordinate service was at that time the 'uncovenanted service', covering clerical and other lower-level positions. In course of time, the employment of Indians began to expand and nearly the whole of the lower judiciary was in their hands. The lower courts consisting of three grades, namely munsifs, suddar ameens and principal suddar ameens numbered about 700 around that time. In the lower courts, Muslims predominated. The subordinate revenue officers, numbering about 1,200, were all Indians. Indians were employed in very large numbers in subordinate police and revenue duties. The total number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the uncovenanted service was between 2,000 and 3,000 in 1853. The principle of public administration during this period was to establish native agency with European superintendence. The higher civil service known as the Covenanted Civil Service was exclusively manned by Europeans and had three grades namely, writers, factors and merchants. In the year 1853, recruitment to the civil service was thrown open to competition. But recruitment to military and naval services continued to be governed by patronage. In 1858, the East India Company was wound up, the rule over India having passed into the hands of the British Crown.

To give a brief history, the

London East India Company or the Company of Merchants of London, trading in the East Indies, as it was described officially, was incorporated under a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth on 31 December 1600, which granted it the exclusive privilege of trade in the East Indies. In 1603, the Company established its first factory at Bantam, in the island of Java. The first factory in India was established at Surat in 1612 as subordinate to Bantam. The first factory in Bengal was established at Hooghly in 1651. In 1690, the seat of trade was transferred from Surat to Bombay. In 1690, the foundation of the city of Calcutta was laid and Job Charnock was made agent. In 1700, Bengal was made a presidency and Sir Charles Eyre assumed charge as president and governor. On 26 May of that year, Bombay, Fort St George and Calcutta were made the headquarters of the Bombay, Madras and Bengal Presidencies. They carried on their business in direct correspondence with the Court of Directors in London. This arrangement continued until the passing of the Regulating Act of 1773.

Until 1765, the East India Company bore an exclusively commercial character. From 1765 until 1833, it had a dual role of trader and ruler. From 1833 until 1858, it functioned only as an administrator. The East India Company was wound up in 1858. An earlier name of the East India Company was John Company. The East India Company was known as the Kampany Jehan, which, in English mouths, became 'John Company'.

Philip Lawson: *The East India Company: A History*, London, Longman, 1993.

Eco-Feminism

Eco-feminism evolved out of the social movements of the late 1970s and early 1980s, particularly the feminist, peace and the ecology movements. The term 'eco-feminism' was coined by Francoise D'Eaubonne from France, but it gained popularity in the context of the numerous protest movements against ecological crises. The first eco-feminist conference—'Women and Life on Earth: A Conference on Eco-Feminism in the Eighties' was organised in March 1980 at Amherst in which the connections between feminism, militarisation, healing and ecology were explored. Yhestra King, one of the conveners of the conference, observed: 'Eco-feminism asserts the special strength and integrity of every living thing. For us the snail darter is to be considered side by side with a community's need for water, the tortoise side by side

with appetite for tuna. We are a woman-identified movement and we believe we have a special work to do in these imperilled times.'

E-Commerce

E-Commerce is an elision of electronic commerce: it means transacting business via the electronic computer. E-Commerce, a recent development, is a revolutionary idea, marking nothing short of a paradigm shift in the manner in which business is conducted. One can, for instance, transact business through the internet: it is quicker, cheaper and even negates the constraints imposed by time and space.

Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)

Originally established in 1947 under the name of Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the new name—the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)—was adopted in 1974. The objective of ESCAP was to promote regional economic cooperation. The environment, sustainable development and poverty alleviation through economic growth and social development are its principal concerns.

Economic Man

An economic man is defined as an individual who maximises his economic gain by rationally computing all possible outcomes. The 'economic man' is an abstract concept, being the economists' image of Man whose motivation solely depends on rational, financial rewards and punishments. The economic man is not bothered about group norms. This being is now replaced by the administration man.

Economicisation

This is a French term originally coined by A. Gorz who used it in his *Critique of Economic Reason* (translated in English by G. Handyside and C. Turnes) published in 1989. Gorz employs economicisation to refer to the expansion of the sphere of economic rationality into newer space which was earlier not subject to the market economy. Under economicisation hitherto uncovered activities must be reducible to 'unit cost' calculus so that non-economic, unquantifiable values may be replaced by measurement, calculation and planning. Economicisation is a new force to colonise the public sector. Other terms are 'econocracy' and 'accountingisation'.

Talib Younis (Ed.): *Implementation in Public Policy*, Aldershot, Dartmouth, year of publication not given.

Across-the-board-settlement

An agreement which is applicable to all the employees in an organisation. The settlement thus maintains the existing relativities.

Economic Theory of Bureaucracy

This theory assumes that state organisations behave as budget maximisers. Larger budgets enable them to satisfy their preferences for salaries, promotions, job security and such non-pecuniary advantages as power, prestige and opportunities to allocate contracts.

Effectiveness

The extent to which an objective or goal is achieved. It is the ratio of relevant input to total output, the emphasis being on 'relevant'. Bribe-giving is not an ingredient of efficiency but may be an effective input in getting the work done in many countries.

Efficiency

How well one does one's work. Thus, it is the ratio of total output to input. An avid advocate of efficiency was Frederick Winslow Taylor, acclaimed as the father of scientific management. This was also the chief goal of the classical theory of organisation. That this is not wholly true was shown by Elton Mayo and his colleagues in the famous Hawthorne experiments in the thirties. This concept was frontally attacked by new public administration. Today, the dominant objective in public administration is the pursuit of the 3 Es—efficiency, effectiveness, and economy.

The Eighty-Twenty Principle

According to the eighty-twenty principle a minority of effort or input leads to a majority of the results or rewards. Literally, the principle means that eighty per cent of gains or achievements emanate from twenty per cent of time spent. Thus, four-fifths of the effort is largely irrelevant. This is contrary to what people ordinarily believe. Experience also seems to validate this principle. Twenty per cent of products account for eighty per cent of sales value. By the same token, twenty per cent of the customers (or products) account for nearly eighty per cent of profits. We can see many examples of the eighty-twenty principle in society also. Twenty per cent of the criminals account for eighty per cent of all crime. In a library, twenty per cent of the books are used eighty per cent of the time.

The eighty-twenty principle or rule was first discovered by Vilfredo Pareto, the Italian economist, in 1897. His discovery is known by several names including Pareto Principle, Pareto Law, Eighty-Twenty Rule, Principle of Least Effort, Principle of Imbalance, etc.

Ek-Tang System

Ek-Tang system, or one-legged system refers to a common personnel practice that was prevalent in the beginning of the nineteenth century in India, which gave civil servants acting appointments with deputation allowances so that a large proportion of officers were employed in posts to which they did not belong. Thus in Bengal, in the year 1845, five different moves were made when even one was not required. B was appointed to act for A, C for B, D for C and E for D when by the appointment of A's assistant, a very competent officer, the whole game of acting-appointment posts might have been avoided. The later practice of transfer and temporary appointment was due to the rule that attached certain salaries to certain posts so that a civil servant entitled to promotion had to be removed to some new office before he could draw the higher allowances from the East India Company's treasury.

Ruthnaswamy, M.: *Some Influences that Made the British Administrative System in India*, London, Luzac & Company, 1939.

Election Commissioner of India

Of the four pillars of the Indian Constitution, the Election Commission is one, the other three being the Supreme Court of India, the Union Public Service Commission, and the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India. On the Election Commission depends the integrity of election, which, truly, is the oxygen of democracy. Thus viewed, its independence and impartiality assume critical importance to the country's entire political system.

Though the Election Commission is enshrined in the Constitution the latter is silent on most details leaving these to be determined by the executive. Whether it is to be a single member or multi-member body has been left to the pleasure of the president, which is but a euphemism for the executive, that is the ruling party. The Constitution merely says: 'The Election Commission shall consist of the chief election commissioner and such number of other election commissioners, if any, as the president may from time to time fix and the appointment of chief election commissioner and other election commissioners shall subject to the provisions of any law made in that behalf by Parliament be made by the president.' The Constitution is most frugal while dealing with the office of the conscience-keeper of the democracy in India, but nowhere has it tried, overtly or covertly, to undermine its autonomous functioning. The independent character of the

commission is guaranteed by the Constitution, which provides that the chief election commissioner shall not be removed from his office except in like manner and on the like grounds as a judge of the Supreme Court and the conditions of service of the chief election commissioner shall not be varied to his disadvantage after his appointment. The Constitution refers to the appointment of regional commissioners after consultation with the Election Commission to assist the latter in the performance of its functions.

Though the Constitution is silent about the size of the Election Commission, it has been a single- member body for a long time. The regional commissioners, two in number, were appointed during the first general election in 1951–52, but their appointments lasted barely six months: no regional commissioners were appointed subsequently.

As said earlier, the Election Commission has been most of the time a single-member body. Plural membership—also called the Commission Form Organisation—is normally recommended to ensure independence vis-a-vis the executive and other vested interests. The underlying belief is that it is easier to influence an individual member than a plural body. It is equally true that a plural body commands greater confidence of the society. This is the motivating belief underlying multi-member bodies like the public service commission, the Supreme Court of India, etc.

On two occasions, the executive made the Election Commission a multi-member one. The first occasion was in 1989. The President Order of 7 October 1989 observed that the president was pleased to fix until further orders the number of election commissioners, other than the chief election commissioner, at two. Nine days later (i.e. on 16 October 1989), S.S. Dhanoa and V. Seigell were appointed to these two posts. Since 1993, the Election Commission has been a multi-member body.

Election Commission

The Election Commission is made responsible for holding elections to the Parliament, state legislatures and offices of the president and vice-president. A multi- member body, the Election Commission is vested with the responsibility of superintending, directing and controlling the preparation of electoral rolls. It consists of a chief election commissioner and such number of other election commissioners as the president may fix from time to time. The chief election commissioner enjoys stability of tenures and his conditions of service

cannot be varied to his disadvantage after his appointment. The Election Commission has the power to disqualify a person on the grounds that he has failed to lodge an account of his election expenses.

Empowerment

The concept of empowerment has become popular since the seventies when public administration began to be called upon to be responsive to service users. Empowerment seeks restructuring of the government to enable common men and women to exercise greater influence over matters of concern to them. A true test of empowerment is whether the clients command a real say in matters of concern to them. A tool to promote responsiveness in public administration is the citizen's charter introduced both in Britain and India in the 1990s. It implies 'people's participation' in administration.

Enabling Act

A legislation which confers powers on an organisation to perform a certain function.

Endowment

A permanent income or fund to finance something worthwhile like a hospital or an educational facility. The principal remains untouched and is never distributed.

Entitlement Budgeting

It is defined as 'legislation that requires the payment of benefits ... to any person or unit of government that meets the eligibility requirements established by such law' (The United States General Accounting Office).

Environ-politics

The politics of environmental conservation and ecology.

Equity

Quality of being fair and impartial; fair and equitable. An avowed goal of new public administration.

Establishment Officer (EO) to the Government of India

The office of the Establishment Officer to the Government of India was set up in 1938, its first incumbent being Noel James Roughton, a member of the Indian Civil Service (ICS). Roughton did not stay for long. Indeed, most EOs had a tenure of less than 18 months, and the term was particularly short during the British rule. Perhaps, the job was discovered to be not very exciting. H.M. Patel, a member of the ICS and a 'commerce-industry pool' officer, was the first Indian to be appointed as EO in 1946. But it was S.B. Bapat of the ICS, who had the longest stay of nearly nine

years and who also emerged as a very strong EO.

The EO was originally located in the finance department, as was the practice in Great Britain, and its justification lay in the interface between its work and the pay and conditions of work of the civil service in India. Even more importantly, the functionary's location in the finance department also equipped him with 'teeth', in the sense that the provinces and other public agencies, always dependent on large financial devolutions from New Delhi, did not dare turn indifferent to his solicitations, much less become non-cooperative. On 1 March 1946, however, the EO was placed under what was officially known as the Secretariat of the Executive Council, named in 1947 as the Cabinet Secretariat. This arrangement lasted till the advent of independence, and since then this office operates under the administrative control of the Ministry of Home Affairs and later of the Ministry of Personnel. Also, it was not uncommon in the past to entrust some other responsibilities to the EO in view of a feeling that the office did not have enough work. For instance, the functionary remained as principal of the IAS Training School at Metcalfe House, Delhi, for quite sometime though this arrangement was temporary. The Economy Committee (1948–49), set up by the Government of India under the chairmanship of Kasturbhai Lalbhai, recommended continuance of the arrangement of the EO's working also as the principal of the civil service training school, asserting 'in our opinion, the EO has not got a full day's work'. This functionary was responsible for filling up of middle- and senior-level management vacancies in the Central Secretariat which then was a sleek organisation.

At the time of independence, the EO to the Government of India was of the rank of a joint secretary and came from the ICS. He was assisted by an office consisting of one superintendent, one assistant superintendent, six assistants of whom three were designated 'clerk, Grade A', seven clerks and one stenographer. Many of the personnel were temporary, having been recruited during the Second World War. There was even a proposal early in 1947 that the office personnel under the EO should get an exemption from government orders of recruitment of ministerial staff in the Central Secretariat. The argument adduced being that the EO's work was becoming increasingly complex and continuity of personnel was 'most important'. The request, however, was quickly turned down by the home

department on the ground that the provisions of the Ministerial Establishment (recruitment, promotion and seniority) Rules applied all over the secretariat without any exception, and as such the office of the EO could not be exempted from them. This continues to be the arrangement even now.

The EO in independent India

Drawn from the Indian Administrative Service (IAS), and holding, presently a rank of additional secretary, the EO to the Government of India is an important functionary in the field of higher-level staffing in the headquarters organisation of the Government of India. Located in the Ministry of Personnel and Training, he works directly under the cabinet secretary and the secretary in the ministry of personnel, his performance being appraised by the latter and 'reviewed' by the cabinet secretary. He is secretary to the Appointments Committee of the Cabinet (ACC) and as such receives all communications intended for the latter. He is secretary of the Senior Selection Board (SSB), member-secretary of the Central Establishment Board (CEB) and communicates their decisions to the ministries concerned.

The recommendations of the Maxwell Committee on Organisation and Procedure (1937) still broadly governs staffing as far as the fundamentals of institutional arrangements are concerned but the modifications introduced are also many. The committee, one may recall, wanted an Establishment Board to recommend individual names for appointments; and this practice continues but in a modified form, and the new arrangement is discussed in what follows: The Establishment Board was renamed as the CEB after independence, and the EO was made its secretary. In 1970, a new Board called the SSB was created and made responsible for appointments to the post of joint secretary and equivalent and above. The SSB is headed by the cabinet secretary and includes the secretary of the department of personnel and some other secretaries nominated by the prime minister for a one-year term, the EO being its secretary. The other board, the CSB, consists of the personnel secretary, who is the ex officio chairman, and two other secretaries nominated by the prime minister, and the EO, who is its member-secretary. Every year, the board prepares panels for under secretaries, deputy secretaries and directors. It is from this approved panel that individual appointments are made. The indenting department notifies its vacancies to the EO giving a job-profile, and the EO sends a list of three

or four or even more names from the panel out of which the department picks up one. The EO is associated with both the boards and does all the preliminary work necessary for the purpose. He processes appointments to posts of under secretaries, deputy secretaries and directors, and plays a sort of active role as far as selections to these posts are concerned. The posts in the central government being for fixed tenures, the departments keep on indicating the vacancies under them and the job description of each post; and it is among the primary tasks of the EO to find out eligible bachelors for purposes of matching the man with the job.

Appointments in the secretariat are governed by what is called the Central Staffing Scheme under which all higher vacancies are filled up by fixed-term deputation of all services, both all-India and central. For appointment to each level, certain eligibility criteria have been prescribed by the government, and those who fulfil them are put on the panel, which is regularly revised. The exercise of empanelment as well as of recommending individual names is done by the appropriate board, but all the necessary processing is done by the EO. Empanelment ordinarily does not create problems, as the rules of eligibility are clearly laid down but the board concerned will have to decide some difficult cases. A particular civil servant is about to complete his tenure in the secretariat, but may seek extension of his term. Or, a civil servant, who reverted to his parent cadre only recently, wants a fresh deputation even though he has not completed his 'cooling off' period. Or, an officer, when moved out of the Central Secretariat, joins some Delhi-based organisation in the expectation of his early return. Such difficult cases apart, the jobs in the secretariat are limited and pressure on them, particularly on economic ministries, is heavy, which adds considerably to the difficulties of both the recommending and appointing authorities including, of course, the EO. The central services have also been making claims on posts in the secretariat. So does the Indian Police Service. The cumulative result is a very heavy load of pressure on the headquarters postings and transfers. Even high-level political and bureaucratic pressures may be brought to bear on them in a bid to influence placements, especially for higher, prestigious jobs.

Technically speaking, both the SSB and the CEB as well as the EO, enjoy but a recommendatory status. For each vacancy, a panel of three or four or even more names is generally sent to the

department concerned, and the secretary of the indenting department may pick up any one from the list, or may even ask for a fresh panel which, though, is not very common. Informal exchange of views between the personnel secretary, EO and the departmental secretaries, however, may wield a bit too much influence in matters of middle-management appointments, especially at its lower rungs in the government. 'It is like a chessboard', one high-ranking civil servant confided to this author, 'and not many can beat the EO in the game./This is because his channels of communication are many. But the more specialised the qualifications for a job the narrower is the discretion left with the EO. Also, his role is limited and of nominal significance when he works for the senior SSB. The proposals for appointments to the posts of the level of joint secretary and equivalent and above are initiated by the cabinet secretary, and the EO has little initiative or influence.'

The apex-level body to approve all appointments of the level of deputy secretary or its equivalent and above under the central government, both within the secretariat and outside it, is a political one. It is the ACC which decides, consisting of the prime minister, the home minister and the minister under whom the vacancy occurs; the EO is its secretary. While servicing the ACC, the EO functions directly under the supervision and guidance of the cabinet secretary. Regardless of his real skill in influencing appointments, the EO is formally associated with all the agencies involved in the task.

The EO maintains the confidential service files of all the four thousand and odd members of the IAS, the only exception being its own confidential file which, as a rule, remains with the cabinet secretary. A recent innovation is the preparation of 'executive record sheets' or index cards, which contain qualifications, experience, age of each member of the IAS, so that he is able to furnish at short notice names of all eligible officers fulfilling the prescribed qualifications for a particular job. Besides, he has unhindered access to the character rolls of all higher civil servants belonging to other services and may send for them as and when called for. The EO remains in regular contact with the secretaries, including cadre authorities in various departments, and chief secretaries in the state in his supreme effort to match the demand and supply of officers. From the cadre authorities of various services, he regularly obtains names of qualified officers available for posting in the secretariat and the attached offices.

Similarly, he is continually fed with information on the likely vacancies, the appointments to which are his responsibility. A large number of telephone calls come to his office and civil servants of various ranks and services call on him at all times of the working hours, their daily number being somewhere around fifty. It is not necessary that they bring only their individual problems, although many of them do. The chief secretary of a state may, for instance, be discussing with him the deputation or reversion matters of officers of his state. A telephone call may perhaps ask him to expedite a particular case in view of the manpower shortage in the department. It is also not untrue that personal favours too are sought and conferred. Indeed, the higher the job especially in the economic ministries, the more intense is the lobbying for it, and thus caught, the EO too, has his own share of the high-level pressure, although the brunt is usually borne by the secretary of the department which has a vacancy and the personnel secretary/cabinet secretary, depending upon the level of the post and the clout which the aspiring candidate may have.

The EO has been designed as an institutional link to ensure flow of officers from the supplier to the indentor, and back. Over the years, the pressure on the headquarters posts has been mounting as an increasing number of officers from the all-India services as well as central services have begun to demand secretariat postings, and what is more, those already posted are generally reluctant to move back to their parent cadre at the end of their tenure. The cases of overstay of officers are fairly large. And, a very large number of officers otherwise eligible for secretariat postings have not been tapped at all. Speaking only about the IAS and the Indian Police Service (IPS), the Estimates Committee of Parliament reported in 1984 that as many as 1,591 IAS officers and 768 Indian Police Service officers (other than those belonging to the cadre of state of UP) with more than five years' service to their credit have never been on deputation to the Government of India. The Committee concluded: This shows that the opportunities for deputation to the centre have not been distributed equitably. The present tale is one of sub-optimisation and points out the need for an extended search for manpower in the secretariat.

The EO's responsibilities, one may note, transcend the world of secretariat appointments. As the ACC is the final approving authority for all appointments of the level of deputy secretary and above under the Government of

India, he, naturally, comes to deal with selection of senior personnel in the headquarters as well as in public undertakings, nationalised banks, government-owned companies, statutory authorities, etc. Besides, matters like deputation to international agencies and foreign governments, selection of officers for overseas fellowships, etc., also claim his time and attention. With the growing attraction for international assignments and foreign fellowships, the competition within the civil service itself becomes keen, which, too, makes the role of the EO look important and powerful. In addition, the EO is a member of, or associated with, many committees which, too, keep him occupied.

For proper performance of all these tasks, the EO is assisted by a large-sized office of subordinate officers. The Government of India, today, conducts a large number of training programmes in subjects, including personnel management, but the personnel who look after staffing matters need possess no professional qualifications. Like the EO, they pick up the knowledge of the job while actually doing it.

Summing up

The EO system seeks to link the states with the centre, and the field with the headquarters by a process of appointment of personnel, on a rotation basis, who possess first-hand experience of the other side of the ring. This constitutes India's model of institutional response to certain important facets of administrative federalism. But the system necessarily functions within the context of democracy and development, and thus, finds it hard not to remain unaffected by pressures and forces released by both. Though, both feed on each other, the craze for postings in economic ministries or foreign deputations and lobbying for placements, for instance, is a consequence of the development, of democracy. The same urges dictate that manipulation be permitted by not restricting the discretionary judgment on the part of the members of the system. At present, empanelment of a civil servant does not necessarily imply his eventual appointment, for the simple reason that some departments must also show readiness to accept him. As the empanelment is done every year and as it has not been prescribed that the present panel must first be exhausted before the new one is opened, some unescorted civil servants may, in reality, get bypassed. The present arrangement of letting the departments pick up civil servants from the panel and non-insistence on complete utilisation of the year's panel before fresh booking starts, increases the

manipulative capacity of the system.

Standardisation of merit ratings of officers opting for headquarter postings is no less a serious problem. Different officers have different standards of appraising the performance of the subordinates. This apart, there being as many as 22 cadre authorities in the case of IAS and IPS, their members, though belonging to the same service and all competing for an increasingly limited number of senior jobs, are appraised differently, creating problems of standardisation and comparison.

This notwithstanding, the EO and the board, of which he is secretary, appear to be a functional necessity in an administrative system of a federal polity under which the central level of government does not possess a civil service of its own for its headquarters. Such a lack, to be sure, is neither constitutionally imposed nor enjoined under any statute, but flows from its own determination to ensure a free flow of experience from the constituent states and other field agencies to its headquarters where overall policies affecting the society are made. The reverse flow is again, determined by the same resolve to create vacancies so as to enable induction of personnel who possess fresh experience, and in the process, the states and field agencies are also enabled to get officers directly acquainted with the objectives of the policies which they are now implementing. It is the responsibility of the EO and the board to see that this recycling process is ongoing, thus continually integrating the field experience with policy-making, and the states with the government at the centre.

Estimates Committee

The Estimates Committee is a committee of the Lok Sabha to examine in greater detail the estimates of the Government of India. The committee examines such estimates as may seem fit to it or are specifically referred to it by the house of speakers. Its chief function is to report measures to bring about improvements in organisation and administrative reforms, etc., consistent with the policy underlying the estimates and to suggest alternative policies to bring about efficiency in administration. The committee can call for details of expenditure charged on the Consolidated Fund of India. It can also examine matters of special interest which it may consider necessary to bring to the notice of the house. It prepares its report after a detailed examination of different departments of the Government of India and non-official witnesses.

The Estimates Committee of the House of Commons, formed in 1912 was abolished in 1971 and in its place the Expenditure Committee was set up with wider terms of reference to examine the public expenditure.

Ethnocentricity

Parochial, not secular and universal. It implies western orientation, inappropriate or irrelevant to the needs of the countries of the third world.

Etzioni Model

Amitai Etzioni, an American sociologist, classified an organisation in terms of the kind of power or authority employed. The Etzioni model includes coercive (an example is a jail), utilitarian (e.g. business), normative (educational organisations) and a mixed category of organisation.

Evaluation

Evaluation is the assessment or appraisal of the performance of a functionary or agency against prefixed targets. Evaluation is undertaken at the end of the specified time, generally one year.

Excess Grant

The Indian financial system does not provide for centralised payment as in Great Britain. Since the disbursing authorities are spread all over the country it is obviously not possible to control the expenditure and keep within the limits sanctioned by the Parliament. Excess money is sometimes spent, which is subsequently regularised by an excess grant from the Lok Sabha. But there is one check. Demands for excess grants need to be first approved by the Public Accounts Committee before submission to the Lok Sabha.

Executive Office of the (U.S.) President (EOP)

The Committee on Administrative Management, headed by Louis Brownlow submitted its report on 1937 in which it recommended the creation of the Executive Office of the President (EOP). The EOP was set up in July 1939, legally and politically recognising the president as the chief executive of the United States. The Bureau of the Budget was shifted from the Treasury Department to the EOP strengthening its management functions. Under the reorganised Bureau of the Budget was created a new division called administrative management. This was one of the five divisions, the other four divisions being: (i) estimates (budget preparation); (ii) legislative reference; (iii) fiscal (including economic analysis); (iv) statistical standards.

Prior to 1921, the U.S. president lacked the authority to

prepare a budget. The Budget and Accounting Act, 1921 created the Bureau of the Budget and located it in the Treasury. But its director reported directly to the president. With the Bureau of the Budget (BOB) moving out of the Treasury to the Executive Office of the President, it (BOB) became the main source of assistance to the president in the management of the government. The Reorganisation Act of 1939, prohibited the creation of new departments and the changing of the name of an existing department in the U.S. government.

Exit Interview

'Exit' means 'going out or departing'. 'Exit interview' is an interview with an employee at the end of his employment, the intention being to generate systematic feedback. Also known is 'debriefing'.

Exit Policy

The exit policy means freedom for an agency to close a factory or office if it is not viable or to reduce its staff if it can manage better with fewer people. India does not yet have an exit policy. Since 1991, India is committed to liberalisation and market economy and thus, allows flexibility in regard to the entry of capital in the country. But it does not give the freedom to exit, that is, to close. There is a law providing for closure but the government generally refuses permission for legal closure. Lack of an exit policy is generally cited as a major disincentive to the free flow of direct investment into India. Businessmen show reluctance to invest in India because of, among other reasons, an absence of an exit policy.

Expectancy Theory of Motivation

The expectancy theory of work motivation argues that human behaviour is regulated by choices influenced by goals and beliefs about the consequences of choices (called expectancies).

The theme of work motivation in administration received organised attention in the 1930s when Elton Mayo of Harvard Business School initiated a series of studies at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company. The results of these studies were published in 1939 by Roethlisberger and Dickson in their *Management and the Worker*. The next two decades were full of researches undertaken on morale and motivation by psychologists like Kurt Lewin, Abraham Maslow, David McCleland, Renesis Likert, Douglas McGregor. The expectancy theory is best developed in Victor Vroom's *Work and Motivation* (1964).

Expectancy theory employs

four concepts—force, valence, instrumentality and expectancy. It is also called the VIE theory, drawing on the last three concepts. In the words of Victor Vroom,

> the (expectancy) theory holds that behaviour is determined by the relative strength of forces acting on the person to move in different directions. Each force varies with the product of the valence of outcomes and the strength of the expectancy that the outcome will be obtained from that choice. It follows from this proposition that highly valent outcomes will have no effect on the generation of forces or on behaviour unless there is some expectation that the probability of their attainment is affected by one's actions. The second proposition asserts that the valence of outcomes is dependent not only on its terminal or intrinsic properties but also on its instrumentality for the attainment of other outcomes. Specifically, the valence of an outcome increases with the product of its instrumentality for and the valence of other outcomes.[1]

[1]Vroom, Victor H., 'Expectancy Theory', Jay M. Shafritz (ed.): *International Encyclopaedia of Public Policy and Administration*, vol. 2, p. 844.

Extra-local Bandobast

This refers to an acute organisational problem of police stations in India. The police in India is confronted with types of duties which may be both normal and abnormal. Beat police is the normal police duty. Where crowds gather, the police arrangement—known as bandobast—becomes necessary. This is an example of abnormal duty of the police. Traditionally, this bandobast used to be confined to fairs and festivals. Since independence, especially after 1965, the nature and range of occasions requiring bandobast has changed drastically. Democratic party politics has given a new spurt to extra-local bandobast. At present, the police bandobast is almost wholly concerned with political meetings, demonstrations, strikes and student unrest. The frequency of what is described as 'extra-local bandobast' has gone up alarmingly of late. All too frequently, the local police constables are moved to quite distant stations, on bandobast duty. Apart from the wasteful expenditure of manpower as well as funds on journey time, the dislocation of normal police work is caused by extra-local station work. Particularly dislocated are the normal processes of investigation and presentation which, in turn, is apt to dislocate the work of criminal justice administration.

Extra-ordinary Remedies Against Public Administration

The extra-ordinary methods of judicial review consist of the writs of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, certiorari and quo warranto. According to Article 32(2) of the Constitution, 'the Supreme Court shall have power to issue directions or orders or writs, including writs in the nature of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari, whichever may be appropriate, for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by this part' (i.e. part III—fundamental rights). Similarly, Article 226 empowers the high courts to issue to any person or authority, including, in appropriate cases, any government within the territories in relation to which it exercises jurisdiction, directions, orders or writs, including writs in the nature of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari, or any of them, for the enforcement of any of the fundamental rights and for any other purpose. Article 32, it may be noted, grants wider discretion to the Supreme Court in the matter of framing writs to suit the exigencies of the specific cases.

1. *Habeas Corpus.* Literally, habeas corpus means 'to have the body of.' The writ of habeas corpus is an order issued by the court, calling upon the person who has detained another person, to produce the body of the latter before the Court, so that it (the Court) might know on what grounds he has been detained, and in the absence of any legal justification for his detention, it might set him free. The purpose of this writ is to determine whether the prisoner has been legally detained or wrongly confined. This writ is a great bulwark of individual freedom; it puts an end to arbitrary imprisonment. The Preventive Detention Act, however, restricts its general usefulness.
2. *Mandamus.* Mandamus means a command or a mandate. It 'is command issued by a common law court of competent jurisdiction, in the name of the State or the Sovereign, directed to some corporation, officer, inferior court, requiring the performance of some particular duty therein specified, which duty results from the official station of the party to whom the writ is directed or from the operation of law.' This writ, in short, commands a public official to do a thing which is part of his official duty, but which he has failed to perform. This writ cannot

be claimed as a matter of right; it is issued at the discretion of the court; and the latter does not issue it so long as some alternative remedy is available.

3. *Prohibition.* The writ of prohibition is issued by a superior court to an inferior court, preventing the latter from usurping jurisdiction which the law does not endow it with. It is, thus, of a negative character, preventing an inferior court from 'usurping a "jurisdiction" with which it is not legally vested.' It can be issued only against judicial or quasi-judicial tribunals.
4. *Certiorari.* Certiorari means 'to be certified'. According to *Bourvier's Law Dictionary*, certiorari is a 'writ issued by a superior to an inferior court of record, or other tribunal or officer, exercising a judicial function, requiring the certification and return to the former of some proceedings then pending, or the record and proceedings in some cause already terminated, in cases where the procedure is not according to the course of the common law.' This writ is issued only against some judicial act, and has the effect of either quashing or upholding the judgment of the inferior court. The main difference between certiorari and prohibition is that the former is both negative and positive, whereas the latter is only preventive.
5. *Quo Warranto.* Quo warranto literally means 'what warrant or authority.' According to Spelling, 'Quo Warranto is the remedy or proceedings whereby the State inquires into the legality of the claim which a party asserts to an office or franchise, or to oust him from its employment, if the claim be not well-founded, or to have the same declared forfeited and recover it, if having once been rightfully possessed and enjoyed, it has become forfeited for misuser or non-user.' This writ purports to try a claim to public office.

It is clear that some of the writs discussed above are in the nature of judicial control over judicial acts, and some are judicial control over administration. The judicial control over administration safeguards individual liberty and is, therefore, absolutely necessary. So important is this control that judiciary is the first to face the attack at the hands of a dictatorial regime. How much did we

miss an independent judiciary during internal emergency?

Before concluding, it is necessary to observe that judicial control might have the effect of paralysing administration inasmuch as there will be no finality in administrative acts. Surely, a middle ground must be found. This has been stated by Harris and Ward in a study of administrative decisions and judicial review, prepared at the University of California in 1941: 'Some middle ground must be reached between the two extremes of complete administrative control which might result in bureaucratic government and complete judicial control which might prevent the efficient operation of government's regulatory and service functions. The courts display a growing tendency ... to refuse to review findings of fact made by administrative tribunals; though they hold firmly to the fundamental principle, expressed in both statutory law and court decisions, that the ordinary courts shall review the decisions, of administrative tribunals involving questions of law.' But this is a minor problem. Judicial control over public administration must remain unabridged and unattenuated.

F

Factor

The executive head of a factory set up by the East India Company; the functionary belongs to the third of the four classes in which the covenanted civil servants of the East India Company were divided, namely senior merchants, junior merchants, factors and writers. These titles which disappeared around 1842, were borrowed from the Portuguese. First appointed as a writer, the civil servant was promoted as a factor after serving for five years. The salary fixed for these levels were as follows:

1. Writers and Factors: £ 200 per annum
2. Junior Merchant: £ 300 per annum
3. Senior Merchant: £ 400 per annum.

Factory

The first foothold of the East India Company in India. A factory was a trading establishment at a port. The first factory set up by the Company was at Bantam in Java. The oldest factories in India were at Surat, Fort William at Calcutta, Fort St George at Madras, and at Bombay. The secretariat in India originated from the office of the factory.

Farash

A lower level (class IV) public servant to do menial jobs in an office, his original business being to spread carpets, pitch tents and also to do housemaid's work.

Fasli

An official year. The term is of Persian origin.

Fayol, Henri

To Henri Fayol, a French engineer turned manager, goes the credit of being the first person to write systematically on administration or management. His *General and Industrial Management* (1916) has emerged as a classic in administrative theory in general and administrative management in particular. It is significant that the first edition of the book was titled *General and Industrial Administration*.

While Frederick Winslow Taylor's focus was on the shop floor, that is, the bottom level of an organisation where the work is of a routine and repetitive type Fayol, on the other hand, was

studying management (or administration) at the top level, that is, at the level of the general manager. They, thus, supplement each other.

Fayol was the first to assert that there are certain transferable principles of management, and even identified them. To quote him, 'Administration ... embraces not only the public service but enterprises of every size and description, of every form and every purpose. We are no longer confronted with several administrative sciences but with one alone, which can be applied equally well to public and to private affairs' (p. 101).

Fayol was the first to argue that management is a separate activity and is not to be confused with the production activity. Any business or industry comprises the following six activities—technical, commercial, financial, security, accounting and managerial. Managerial activity consists of five functions—to plan, to organise, to coordinate, to command, to control. There are fourteen principles of management, which are universal in their applications:

Division of Work	Authority
Discipline	Unity of Command
Unity of Direction	Subordination of individual Interest to general interest
Remuneration	Centralisation or decentralisation
Scaler Chain	Order
Equity	Stability of Tenure
Initiative	Esprit de corps

Henri Fayol is perhaps the most prominent exponent of structural principles of formal organisation. He recognised administration (or management) as a distinct, separate activity of an organisation.

Featherbedding

A form of sabotage of organisational objectives, featherbedding is a subtly planned restriction of output. Regarded as a favourite trade-union technique it forces the employment of unneeded employees or slows work with a view to reduce unemployment. It is the employment of more staff than is necessary. It is the subsidising of a loss-making undertaking by the government.

Feedback

This refers to the consequences of decisions or actions which are communicated to the originator. Return flow of output information which can be utilised to regulate future input. Borrowed from cybernetics, feedback links output with input.

Feminisation of Poverty

While poverty is not the peculiarity of anyone in the society, the fact is that a large majority of

the poor people are women and more and more of them are pushed into poverty. It is said that women's poverty increases relative to men's.

One must remember that 'poverty' is commonly defined in terms of economic indicators such as income, production and consumption. In its 1990 World Development Report on Poverty, the World Bank defined 'poverty' as the inability to attain a minimal standard of living.

Feminist Theory of Public Administration

This theory interprets, examines and analyses public administration from a predominantly women's viewpoint. The feminist theory, a new development in public administration, includes a wide range of viewpoints. Its underlying assumption is based on the historically lower position occupied by women in all the spheres of a country's life—social, political, educational, etc. In the feminist theory, gender is the key element in social enquiry, the argument being that women should have an equal share in various spheres of social life. The viewpoint represented by the theory received an institutional emphasis in India in 1974, which was celebrated as the International Women's Year in the world. In 1975, the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year was adopted. Earlier, in 1971, India set up the Committee on the Status of Women in India, which published its report titled 'Towards Equality' in 1975. In 1976, a separate machinery for women's development came into being under the name of the Women's Bureau in the department of social welfare, Government of India. This agency crusaded the cause of women and as a result centres for bettering the status of women began to be set up in the universities in 1985, and a separate Department of Women and Child Development was set up in the Government of India. In addition, India has had since 1992, a high-powered standing statutory body, namely the National Commission for Women to oversee the implementation of constitutional and legal safeguards and the protection of women's rights and privileges. Several states have followed suit and set up statutory state commissions for women. Today, a large number of institutions championing the women's cause in varying ways have come up, mostly in metropolitan areas. In 1993, the National Credit Fund for Women (Rashtriya Mahila Kosh) was established to help develop a nation wide network of credit facilities for

women in order to stimulate self-employment, micro-enterprises and small business.

To sum up, the Department of Women and Child Development is the national machinery under the Government of India to guide, coordinate and review the efforts of both governmental and non-governmental organisations in the field of women's development. The Central Social Welfare Board, established in 1953, acts as an umbrella organisation networking through state welfare boards and non-governmental agencies. The National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development assists the Department of Women and Child Development in areas of training and research.

Today, India possesses a vast network of institutions and agencies working towards mainstreaming women into the national development process.

Field Trip

A field trip is a planned visit to activities outside the agency in the company of a group leader who demonstrates the practical applications of the theories taught. A field trip is recommended when the subject matter of training is such that it can best be learned by observation of the actual process.

Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1812

The select committees of the British parliament examined the affairs of the East India Company and submitted valuable reports on a variety of topics on the conditions in India, the most famous being the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, presented in 1812 and drafted by the clerk of the Board of Control. The report discusses the practical effects of the revenue and the judicial systems established by Lord Cornwallis. It deals with land revenue assessment, administration of justice, civil courts, criminal courts of justice, farming system, police jurisdiction, revenue department and other related topics. The report is the most authentic on land settlement but it covers many other aspects of life in India: it chronicles even the habits and customs of the people. The report comprises three volumes.

Firangi

Foreigner; A hostile, disparaging term for Europeans.

Firm

The term was popularised, among others, by March and Cyert. 'Firm' is a more precise expression than organisation and is a central one in a market

economy system. It is a legal entity and is characterised by the factors of joint liability and a separate fund (or, budget)—its two indices.

Firman

Royal order or mandate. The term is of Persian origin, meaning an order or passport. It was through a firman issued by the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam, that the right to collect diwani over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was conferred on the East India Company in 1765 in return for an annual payment of Rs 26 lakh to him.

First-Line Supervisor

Anyone at a level above the bottom-most level. The head constable in the police hierarchy is the first-line supervisor. The first-line supervisor is generally the foreman. The post is the last but one level in the organisational hierarchy responsible for a group of bottom-level workers.

Fiscal Federalism

A sub-field of federalism, fiscal federalism refers to the financial aspects of inter-government relations in a federation.

Fiscal Policy

A policy which handles public expenditure and tax to direct and stimulate the level of economic activity, as measured by gross domestic product (GDP). John Maynard Keynes was the first economist to have developed a theory linking fiscal policy and economic performance in his *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money.*

Flat Organisation

It refers to a formal organisation structure characterised by a wide span of control between the top-level executives and the first-line supervisors thus entailing fewer hierarchical levels between the top and the first-line supervisors. With less control exercisable over the subordinate the latter enjoys a larger measure of initiative which helps in his leadership growth. Flat organisation is thus an organisation with fewer levels of hierarchy. The Roman Catholic Church is an example of flat organisation. It is a contrast to a tall organisation.

Flexitime

An arrangement of flexible working hours operates in some organisations whereby employees may choose their time of arrival and departure, but they, nevertheless, work the agreed number of hours including certain hours (core time) each time when everyone must be at work. It is not in operation in India. It

is referred to as 'flextime' in the U.S.A.

Regarded as an innovation of a sort, flextime is, thus, a system of allowing to arrange working hours according to the employees' own convenience. It allows a measure of flexibility to employees in setting hours of work during the workday, though they must abide by the prescribed hour week, which is forty hours in U.S.A. The Fifth Central Pay Commission (1993–97) recommended its introduction in India.

Flow Chart

A graphic presentation of the movement of work progress in the operations of an organisation.

Ford Foundation

The largest foundation in the world, the Ford Foundation was established in 1936 by Henry Ford, founder of Ford Motors, and his son. The objective of the Ford Foundation is to promote charitable activities and public welfare. It commands total assets of U.S. $ 7 billion.

The Ford Foundation has played a notable role in the development of the discipline of public administration in India. In the fifties it provided the full-time services of the American expert in public administration, Paul H. Appleby, to India to examine its administrative system and to suggest its streamlining. Appleby's stay in the country and his discussions with knowledgeable people led to the publication, in 1953, of what has since become a little classic, namely, *Public Administration in India: Report of a Survey.* The Ford Foundation gave initial financial support to India in the founding of the Indian Institute of Public Administration in 1955. It also supported the overseas training of its faculty selected for launching public administration teaching in the institute. The Ford Foundation has been a leader in taking up worthwhile causes.

Fordism

Refers to a new stage in capitalism which followed the advent of the assembly system of production. Introduced in 1912 by Henry Ford, the well known U.S. automobile manufacturer, Fordism is based on scientific management. It is characterised by minute division of work. It is associated with assembly-line mass production techniques.

Formal Organisation

It is the official structure of an organisation as prescribed by the organisation chart and describes the way it is supposed to function. It is the prescribed structure. It is, thus, a rational institutionalised

structure of relationships of people who work towards the accomplishment of some pre-determined goal. The basic elements of a formal organisation are specialisation, authority, hierarchy, division of functions, commonly laid down procedures of work, communication and management. The most widely known formal organisation model is known as bureaucracy, its prototype, being developed by Max Weber in the form of 'ideal type' bureaucracy. The concepts of bureaucracy were developed by scientific management and administrative management.

Foujdar

The officer of the Mughal government who was invested with the charge of the police and jurisdiction in criminal matters.

Foundation

Non-governmental, non-profit organisation established for the promotion of charitable causes.

Fourth Estate

The term was coined in 1828 by Thomas Babington Macaulay, who referred to the gallery of the House of Commons in which the press reporters sit as 'the fourth estate of the realm'. Fourth Estate means the press as a political force.

Fourth World

The poorest and technologically least developed countries of the world. The poorest countries of the third world. Also the poorest people in developed countries.

Freedom of Information Act

The wind is blowing everywhere in favour of ensuring transparency in public administration. As a result, Freedom of Information Act was passed in the U.S.A. in 1966 to give the public free access to information held by the federal government. The Act gives any person the right to request and receive any documents, files or other records in possession of any agency of the federal government, subject to nine exemptions. The Freedom of Information Act does not apply to the state governments which have their own laws governing disclosure of information.

The enactment of the Freedom of Information Act is demanded in India though no such law has yet been made.

Free-riders

Employees and clients who share in the consumption of the agency's collective benefits without sharing the burden that produced the benefits.

Fringe Benefits

Benefits received from the

employer in addition to salary. Examples of fringe benefits are subsidised meals, travel, official accommodation, sickness benefits, pension, etc.

Fulton Committee on the Civil Service

The Committee on the Civil Service (appointed in Great Britain in 1966 under the chairmanship of Sir John Fulton) published a three-volume report in 1968. It referred to the British Civil Service as being essentially a product of the Northcote Trevelyan philosophy which had outlived its utility and needed changes.

Acting on the Fulton Committee recommendations, the British government announced the setting up of a separate civil service department (which was disbanded in 1981). Besides, the existing classes were abolished. A civil service college was set up and reforms were carried out in the recruitment system. Many former classes have been merged to form new 'groups' or 'categories'. The clerical and executive classes have been merged to form the administration group. The administration group includes the bottom three levels of the old administrative class, namely, principal, senior principal and assistant secretary. For the top three levels, namely, the permanent secretary, deputy secretary and under secretary, an 'open structure' has been created with a unified grading structure. The open structure is open to all categories and groups of civil servants.

The Fulton Committee on the Civil Service thus recommended the opening up of policy-making positions in the higher reaches of the British bureaucracy to those technically trained. It was in favour of relating jobs to organisational objectives, for accountable management and for increased professionalisation. It bluntly declared: 'the cult (of the administrative class) is obsolete at all levels and in all parts of the service'. The proposed civil service department was to take over the personnel functions exercised by the Treasury. It favoured the decentralisation of personnel procedures to the departmental level and elimination of the vast proliferation of special classes with their differing pay and career structures.

Functionalist Approach in Public Administration

The functionalist approach has dominated public administration. It stands for a pragmatic approach to problem-solving. It seeks to provide rational explanations of administrative problems, and solutions are devised in terms of organisational needs and requirements. The functionalist

approach is a social engineering one.

Future Shock

The term was coined by the American author, Alvin Toffler in the 1970s. It refers to the growing difficulty of coping with the fast social changes taking place in the society.

G

Game Theory

The word 'game' may convey an impression that this theory is frivolous, not worthy of serious attention or purpose. But this is far from it, as the term 'game theory' helps us to understand serious matters. We all play games. The game theory of policy-making was first developed by economists. Economics encompasses a much larger range of activities where examples of the game theory are applicable. An example of a market game is the efforts of two television stations in a small town, engaged in fixing their advertising rates for the coming year.

The game theory is a simulation technique for optimising the standards of action under competitive conditions including the minimising of losses on the actions to be taken. It deals with how individuals make decisions when they know that their actions affect each other and each individual takes this into account.

The theory is an offshoot of mathematics and is widely used in decision-making in conflict situations such as war. It applies to a social situation attended by the following attributes:

1. The decision-makers or players are at least two or more; they are called players. Each player has a choice of two or more courses of action, which are 'strategies'.
2. The outcome depends on the strategy choices of all the players.
3. Each player has his preferences among the possible outcomes so that pay offs to these preferences can be assigned.

The game theory assumes that there is no best choice which one can make independently and that the best outcome depends on what others do. In a conflict situation all participants try to maximise their gains and minimise their losses. Each player in the conflict situation must adjust his approach to reflect not only his own goals and expectations but also his assessment about what others will do. The game strategy of a player includes all possible options for contingencies arising from a strategy of other players. The game theory has its utility, as already indicated, in conflict situations and the conflicts may be social, economic, political or military. It is a rational theory of

decision-making. Its goal is to help in the determination of strategies the players would choose in order to proceed rationally with their interest and with awareness of what outcomes will follow if they do so.

The theory had its beginning, at least in its embryonic form, in the twenties of the twentieth century but it was not until 1928 that it may be said to have been born in its present form, the chief credit going to John von Neumann. The theory applies to competitive (that is, zero-sum) games between two persons, in which each player's pay-off is simply the negative of the other player's.

Most situations in social sciences are non-zero-sum games. An oft-quoted example given in books is the Prisoner's Dilemma formulated and so named by Albert Tucker. The case depicted as 'The prisoner's dilemma' can be explained as follows:

A public prosecutor is convinced that two prisoners have collaborated in the perpetration of a crime, but the existing evidence is insufficient for a conviction for which he needs a confession of their mutual complicity. They are separately locked and interrogated. One of them, say A, is told, that if the other suspect, say B, does not confess, but should A confess, A can get off with light punishment. But if B does confess, then A would do well to confess too; otherwise the court will come down heavily on A. So you should confess no matter what the other does. B, too, is told to confess, using similar reasoning.

Faced with this choice, both A and B confess. But it would have been better for both if neither had confessed, because the police really had no compelling evidence against them to procure a conviction.

Pay-off Matrix of Prisoner's Dilemma

	Prisoner B	
	Deny Everything	*Confess Everything*
Deny Everything	Freedom for A Freedom for B (This is a non-zero-sum game)	Ten years for Prisoner A Freedom for Prisoner B (This is a zero-sum game)
Confess everything	Freedom for A Ten Years of Prison for B (This is a zero-sum game)	Five years for Prisoner A Five Years for Prisoner B (This is a non-zero-sum game)

Avinash Dixit and Susan Skeath: *Games of Strategy*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 1999.

Garbage Can Model of Policy-Making

Most approaches to policy-making concentrate on the policy community as well as how issues become the live concern of the society and thus, get included in the policy agenda. As is known to every well-informed citizen, in every society there are already reached 'solutions' which are on the lookout for problems. Problems are manufactured in a bid to justify such pet solutions. Apparently complex problems, thus, get presented just to suit the policy-makers of the day; solutions, in short, make a search for the problems. In other words, a society has ready within it solution-based lobbies or groups which are in search of their constituency. This, in essence, is the garbage-can model of policy-making. March and Olsen describe this theory thus:

> Suppose we view a choice activity as a garbage can into which various problems and solutions are dumped by participants. The mix of garbage in a single can depends partly on the labels attached to the alternative cans, but it also depends on what garbage is being produced at the moment, on the mix of cans available, and on the speed with which garbage is collected and removed from the scene.[1]

Wayne Parsons observes: 'The garbage can model argues that there is essentially a condition in which some issues will have solutions attached to them, others will not, other solutions may be roaming around looking for an issue to which to attach themselves. Decision-makers may well dump a problem or solution into whatever can they have at hand, or whatever can is empty enough to contain the problem/solution'. Parsons continues: 'What the garbage can idea graphically suggests is that issues, problems and solutions are messy, untidy sorts of things, whose mode of identification by policy-makers will depend on the time it was picked and the availability of cans to put them in.'[2]

[1]March, J.G. and Olsen, J.P. (ed.): *Re-discovering Institutions: The Organisational Basis of Politics*, New York, 1979, p. 26.

[2]Parsons, Wayne. *Public Policy*, Aldershot, Edward Elgar, 1995, p. 302.

Gazetted and Non-Gazetted Posts

Technically, a gazetted government servant or officer is one whose appointment, transfer, promotions, retirement, etc., are announced in the official gazette in a notification issued by order of

the president/governor. This practice dates back to the year 1793 when the government of Fort William in Bengal first brought out its official gazette and began recording the appointments of its covenanted civil servants. The Government of India published its own first gazette on 18 January 1864. A gazetted civil servant usually holds independent charge of an office, and his duties are supervisory. Gazetted posts are sub-divided into all-India services and Group A and Group B services while the non-gazetted posts fall in Group C and Group D services.

The Gazetteers of India

The gazetteers, the monumental works indispensable to administrators and scholars alike, owe themselves to the persistent demand of the East India Company for information about its territories acquired in India and those beyond its boundary. The new ruler wanted to know the facts of Indian life, living conditions of the people and their economy. The British capitalists too looked on the gazetteers as a handbook for extending their activities in India. The gazetteers include the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, the *Provincial Gazetteers* and the *District Gazetteers*. The gazetteers constitute a mammoth work running into nearly 500 separate volumes.

While many administrators contributed to the making of the gazetteers, the real credit goes to Sir William Wilson Hunter who in 1870 prepared his *Plan for an Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and who eventually completed his magnum opus, the *Indian Gazetteers*.

Considerable work preceded the preparation of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. According to Hunter, the *Imperial Gazetteer* had a twofold purpose: it was to be an administrative guide as well as a source of knowledge to the people. The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (volumes I to IX) came out in 1881 followed by the *Indian Empire* (*Its History, Peoples and Products*). Later on, *Indian Empire* was divided into four volumes: vol I–*India-Descriptive*; vol. II–*India-Historical*; vol. III–*India-Economic*; vol. IV–*India-Administrative*. Thus, volumes I to IV of the series dealing with different aspects of India were the revised and enlarged edition of vol. VI of the old *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. To sum up, the first edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* was published in 1881, in nine volumes. A revised edition was brought out in 1885–87, in fourteen volumes. Lord Curzon attached great importance to this exercise. As a result of his interest,

the *Imperial Gazetteer* was revised and published in 1907–1909, in 26 volumes. The first four volumes were the revised and enlarged version of the *Indian Empire* by William Hunter. The next twenty constituted the alphabetical series and the last two the index and the atlas. The government of independent India has continued this policy, and has brought out a revised and expanded *Gazetteer of India*.

Chaudhuri, S.B.: *History of the Gazetteers of India*, Ministry of Education, 1964.

Gender Discrimination

This is discrimination in employment where one's sex and not one's skills and qualifications, play a large part in determining appointment and promotion. The discriminatory practices may be deliberate or unintentional but either way do not treat males and females equally. Gender discrimination is restrictive of the employment opportunities. Being a discriminatory practice, it is banned by law today. The United States has on its statute book the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, passed in 1972. Yet, gender discrimination manifests itself in consciously planned or other practices which limit employment and advancement opportunities for females. Discrimination against females is prohibited under the law but is subtly practised in many spheres of life.

General Civil Service

India follows 'rank in the man' system of position classification whereas the United States, believing in the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' has adopted the 'rank in the job' type. But India's general civil service is an exception. Some isolated posts in India do not fall into any of the organised civil services and instead are based on the 'rank in the job' principle. Posts which do not exactly fit into the framework of any of the organised services and which at the same time are too few to be viable for a separate service are deemed to belong to the 'general civil service'.

Generalist Administrator

Officials who occupy higher level policy-making and executive positions in public administration, where they use their general intellectual skills and abilities supported by non-specialist academic training. The philosophy supporting the generalist creed in administration is best defined by Thomas Babington Macaulay, chairman of the Committee on Consideration of the Subject of the East India Company, popularly known as the Committee on the Indian Civil Service (1854):

> We believe that men who have been engaged up to one or two and twenty, in studies which have no immediate connection with the business of any profession, and of which the effect is merely to open, to invigorate, and to enrich the mind, will generally be found, in the business of every profession, superior to men who have, at 18 or 19 devoted themselves to the special studies of their calling. The most illustrious English jurists have been men who have never opened a law book till after the close of a distinguished academical career, nor is there any reason to believe that they would have been greater lawyers if they had passed in drawing pleas and conveyances the time which they gave to Thucydides, to Cicero and to Newton. The duties of a civil servant of the East India Company are of so high a nature that in his case it is peculiarly desirable that an excellent general education such as may enlarge and strengthen his understanding, should precede the special education which must qualify him to despatch the business of his cutcherry.

The primacy of the generalist administrator prevails in India and also, to a large extent, in Great Britain today.

The United States did not wish to emulate Great Britain in this as in many other respects and it adopted the 'rank in the job' system of position classification and thus kept away from the generalists. The United States never accepted the generalist administrator except under the Civil Service Reform Act, 1978. This Act, for the first time, created a Senior Executive Service for policy-making, supervisory and managerial positions immediately below the president and his top-level policy advisors.

The Fulton Committee on the Civil Service was appointed in Great Britain in 1966 to reform the civil service to fit it for the tasks of a technically advanced society. The committee recommended abandonment of the prevailing philosophy of the amateur (that is, the generalist). It noted insufficient opportunities available to the specialists. It also found that civil servants needed to be trained in management. Despite the criticism of the generalist, the generalist character of the British Civil Service did not undergo a change for many years. It was in the Thatcher government's administration that the generalist administrator had to specialise and learn management and budgeting skills. The shift has become marked since the 'Next Steps' in 1988.

Ghusal-Khana

'Ghusal-khana' means a bathroom. But for the Mughal rulers 'ghusal-khana' applied to the Emperors' hall of private audience. The palace in Agra fort built by Shah Jahan had a hall for private audience on the site of Akbar's bathroom. Hence the name.

Globalisation

The impact of the new economic policy in operation since the nineties has been increasing globalisation of economic activities. Globalisation refers to processes by which particular societies are getting incorporated into a single worldwide market society. Products which were manufactured in a single factory are fabricated with parts and materials sourced in several parts of the world. The satellite news broadcast is a striking example of globalisation underway since the seventies. It may be the morning-news broadcast in one country and a late-night one in another. An indicator of globalisation is the fast expansion of international direct investment. Transnational corporations have a home almost everywhere but nowhere do they feel at home, so restless and set on conquering new territories they are. They are integrating their worldwide operations with apparently infinite ingenuity and vigour. Globalisation is directly stimulated by the acceptance of market-oriented policies by national governments. We are already talking about a global village.

Globalisation believes in a global market. In other words, economies of all the nation-states must be integrated and be internationally competitive. It integrates the national economies into global economies through trade and investment rules and privatisation spurred by technological advances, the process being stimulated by the theory of comparative advantage. Critics of globalisation dub it as the imposition of worldwide consumer monoculture, a recent phenomenon which is apt to cast its effect on the nation-state. Today, cross-border integration is advancing at a rapid pace, particularly in the areas of economic and financial activities. This has been facilitated by revolutionary advances in information technology. The world we are living in is becoming increasingly inter-connected. The emerging identity is international, inter-area, inter-disciplinary. As a result, global networks are fast emerging in all possible areas of life, creating a global orientation for consumer products. Quite understandably, globalisation is weakening local ties and local identities and fostering global allegiances. Eventually, what is to

emerging is a new global society accompanying a new global culture. The concept is too new to gain an acceptable meaning being surrounded by different approaches. Globalisation is an ever broadening concept.

Globalisation and Public Administration

Globalisation, the current talk all over the world, seeks worldwide integration of the market and its transcendence claims its 'state-indifferent' nature. Global capitalism seeks a retreat of the state. All these developments are bound to affect public administration. At the same time, supra-state agencies are emerging. These formations have tended to aggravate the dependency of the third world countries.

It is also argued that today the market is emerging as an alternative to the classical state. While the state operates within its territorially fixed boundaries, the market treats the entire world as its unit. Indeed, the market is becoming globalised at an accelerated pace. What is said is that the ascendancy of the multinational corporations—these international levitations—are in search of a world order much beyond the nation-states, which is slow in emerging and what is more may institutionalise—and legitimise—the hegemony of the existing superpower.

Global Sourcing

Global sourcing refers to acquiring of goods, labour and material from anywhere they are competitively available. Global sourcing has its uses because of differences in supply and price of the resources.

Global Warming

It refers to increase in the earth's average temperature thus causing changes in climate. Global warming may result from the enhanced greenhouse effect produced by greenhouse gases.

Gobbledygook

Bureaucratic jargon, which is meaningless to ordinary people, being characterised by circumlocution, and pomposity by officials.

Golden Handshake

Incentive packet offered to reduce staff to accept voluntary retirement. Also known as economic jumpstart.

'Gol Kamra'

Name for the drawing room in the European officer's bungalow in India.

Goonda List

A list maintained in a police station which includes communal

trouble-makers in the locality. The goonda list is sometimes further divided into three categories—A, B and C grades. The A-grade goondas are the conspirators and behind-the-scenes perpetrators of communal riots. The B-grade list includes persons who actively participate in the riots. Those who are not active but are second-line operators but nevertheless, take part in the riots are in the C grade.

Governance

The Oxford English Dictionary recognises 'governance' as a separate, independent entry, and defines it as 'the action, manner of governing'. 'Good governance' was for the first time used in the English language in the year 1628. A distinction marks the words 'government' and 'governance'. Long back in history in the year 1701, to be precise, it was subtly conveyed in the observation: 'Wise princes ought not to be admired for their government, but governance'. *The Webster's Encyclopaedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language* defines governance as a method or system of government or management. The term 'governance' is thus a qualitative expression, a normative concept and is different from government.

The concept of governance was not entirely unknown to the nationalist leadership in India spreadheading the freedom movement. Mahatma Gandhi used to talk about swaraj as well as 'suraj' (good governance). But the term 'governance' was not much in use when the Constitution was in the making. The Constitution of India has not even once used the term in its preamble. Indeed, the Constitution has used 'governance' only once in its directive principles of state policy. Article 37 says: 'The provisions contained in this part shall not be enforceable by any court, but the principles therein laid down are nevertheless, fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the state to apply these principles in making laws.' The principles enumerated in the directive principles of state policy are:

1. Right to an adequate means of livelihood.
2. The operation and control of the material resources of the community so distributed as best to subserve the common good.
3. The operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.
4. Equal pay for equal work for both men and women is ensured.
5. The health and strength of

> workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and the citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength.

The directive principles of the state policy emphasise the 'content' factors. It must be noted that in 1977, one additional item was added to the list of these 'principles' of governance. The item was: 'children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment.' The amendment may imply elevation of the child in the social hierarchy but in practice it means nothing. A demand is often made to make primary education a fundamental right. But these are purely cosmetic gestures. Even after fifty years of the Republic, nearly six crore children remain doomed to illiteracy. What is said is that while an item is made a principle of governance it does not necessarily imply its translation into action. The term governance was liberally used by the Central Fifth Pay Commission (1993–97). It observed: 'Unless the objectives of governance are made clear and specific, there will always be a tendency for expansion of the bureaucracy in accordance with the inexorable Parkinson's Law'.[1]

Governance is a qualitative concept whereas government is a physical entity. The difference between the two can be conveyed more sharply by the observation that 'India should have less of government but more of governance.' Governance claims a complex of traits, the principal structural indicators of which are a written constitution, rule of law, limited government, constitutionalism, accountability, transparency, judicial review, decentralisation, citizen participation, observance of human rights. Governance, thus, includes both procedural and substantive formulations. The report of Al Gore's National Performance Review (1993) prefers the term 'democratic governance' to good governance and its distinguishing attributes lie in certain 'values' such as equal opportunity, justice, diversity and democracy.[2] Milton J. Esman, the well-known authority on public administration, gives a more humane definition to 'governance'. Governance must protect 'human and property rights' and mitigate 'societal conflicts' thereby insuring the political stability and security of investments and enterprise that facilitate political stability and security of investments and

institutions. He further adds, 'While state power must be constrained by law, government administration must at the same time enhance its capacities for policy making, regulation and service delivery that are indispensable to economic progress'.[3] Governance means to exercise power with the aim of directing and regulating public activities in the larger interest of people. It necessarily embraces the normative parameters of political authority.

The concept of governance has acquired increased importance since 1990s largely because international aid agencies began to recognise its absence as a serious barrier to economic development of the developing countries, which has been their avowed objective. Good governance is promoted by factors like decentralisation, participatory management, citizen-participation in decision-making, etc. Governance thus includes both procedural and substantive formulations.

Governance is more clearly identified with the aspiration level of the society and is not a static concept. It is an aspirational concept as in the Olympics where one should aspire for higher and higher levels of achievability. But one must not at the same time become utopian and esoteric. It must not lose a sense of realism: it must remain within its limit of governability. Every society has its outer capacity of governance and cannot stretch itself beyond a certain limit. There are limits to administrative capacity-building. Surely, capacity-building can be strengthened by conscious means such as training, supervision, prudently planned incentive system, motivational devices, etc. When all is said, the fact is that what is planned and attempted must bear a realistic relationship with the existing levels of standards.

[1]*Report of the Central Fifth Pay Commission*, 1998, p. 115.

[2]*Creating a Government that works better and costs less: The Report of the National Performance Review*, New York, Penguin Books U.S.A. Inc., 1993, p. xlii.

[3]Milton J. Esman's guest editorial entitled 'New Frontiers', in *Public Administration and Development*, London, vol. 19, no. 4, October 1999.

Government

The World Bank defines 'government' as the process of governing, the exercise of power. Government often means the people who fill the positions of authority in a state. 'The term may refer to the manner, method or system of governing in a society to the structure and arrangement of offices and how they relate to the governed'.

It is normal to regard 'government' as consisting of three distinct sets of powers, each with its assigned role. These three are: the legislature (which makes the law), the executive (which implements the law), and the judiciary (which interprets and applies the law). The executive is often referred to as the government. Bureaucracy was viewed as constituting the fourth branch of government by Vincent de Gournay, the physiocrat economist in France in the eighteenth century.

Government Corporation

An organisation owned by the government acting jointly for business purposes but recognised by law as being independent.

A government corporation is wholly owned by the state and is created by special legislation, which lays down its functions, powers and duties. It is a body corporate and thus is a separate entity for legal purposes and can sue and be sued. It is independently financed. It can conduct business in its own name. All these attributes go to make a corporation, the most important constitutional innovation of the present century. In the words of W.A. Robson.

The Reserve Bank of India is among the oldest government corporations in India, having been established under the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1935. The State Bank of India is another one which is nearly as old. So is the Damodar Valley Corporation set up in 1945—that is, before independence. Government corporations abound in the U.S.A. The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey is among America's oldest corporations. It was, however, president Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933) who brought into being the largest number of government corporations in the country, some notable ones being the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration. The Tennessee Valley Authority, set up in 1933 was described by Roosevelt as 'clothed with the power of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of private enterprises'. It is to be noted that Roosevelt was not particularly enamoured of government corporations in the last days, referring to them as 'creeping socialism'.

Government-in-exile

A government temporarily moved to a foreign land or formed in a foreign land by exiles who expect to form the government in their native land on its liberation. The Dalai Lama has established a government-in-exile in India (at

Dharamsala, Himachal Pradesh) after China's occupation of Tibet.

Government of India Secretariat Procedure Committee, 1919 (Llewellyn Smith Committee)

Public administration must remain in step with the constitution. So, when the constitution undergoes a goal change, the former must also be redesigned. This is a principle of basic value. Whenever the British colonial ruler announced a constitutional advance, it set up an administrative reform committee to suggest suitable changes in the country's public administration. In 1917, the British government in London announced its goal of governance in India, which was one of responsible government to be introduced in gradual doses. The goal was concretised by the Government of India Act, 1919.

To redesign the instrument for the new goal, the Government of India appointed in September 1919, the Government of India Secretariat Procedure Committee under the chairmanship of Sir H. Llewellyn Smith. The committee was to examine the system under which business was allocated among the departments of the Government of India and to suggest ways and means of efficient and expeditious disposal of business. It was also asked to recommend appropriate changes in the system or recruitment for the secretariat to achieve efficiency. It submitted its report in December 1919. It is a remarkable report, leaving a permanent mark on the secretariat system in India. It explains the evolution of several contemporary administrative institutions and procedures. It enunciated certain ideas which in course of time became an integral part of administrative thinking in India.

The report of the committee contains an excellent exposition of principles of organisation relating to the grouping together of related subjects. Calling it a 'sound principle', the committee recommended the 'grouping together, closely related subjects and also those administrative branches of which the work is correlated, under the same department'. 'Where cognate or related subjects are dealt with by different departments, there is a constant danger of duplication, over-lapping and friction; and whereas a department which has to deal with a coherent group of related subjects gains expert knowledge and experience from the treatment of one branch which enhances its power of dealing promptly and effectively with others. A department the work of which is formed out of a mere

heterogeneous collection of unrelated subjects gains no such experience or power and its technique instead of continually improving may hardly rise above that of a secretariat pure and simple'. Other recommendations related to 'equalising ... the burden resting on several members (predecessors of ministers) and higher officials', unity of command—'the organisation should be of the nature of a pyramid, the apex of which is secretary and the base the assistant secretaries'—and the manageability of charge was stressed as the rational base of organisation. Informal organisation figured prominently and the Llewellyn Smith Committee observed that 'Departments frequently resort to informal devices to escape from the bondage of their own procedure in cases of importance and urgency.' The committee advocated the reform of the formal procedures to eliminate excessive resort to informal devices.

The committee reviewed the procedures for the disposal of business and calculated that on an average, a 'case' was disposed of in 24.7 days from receipt. This was naturally considered a slow process of transacting government business. In order to achieve improvements, it discussed organisation, administrative management, personnel practices, office lay-out and logistics. Most of their observations could well be contents of a standard textbook in public administration.

It was the practice of the day to appoint the clerical personnel in the secretariat as and when the requirement was felt and each department was free to appoint them according to its own perceptions. Nor, were their service conditions given much importance. The level of the clerical personnel was thus not that high. The Llewellyn Smith Committee recommended the creation of the Imperial Secretariat Service comprising upper division clerks. The members of the Imperial Secretariat Service could go up to the level of assistant secretaryships, this post being in the nature of an incentive to its members. This recommendation was implemented by the Government of India. The recruitment of its members was to be made by the Central Staff Selection Board which was the precursor of the public service commission set up in 1926.

The Imperial Secretariat Service must not be confused with the later established Central Secretariat Service. It was designed as an organised cadre of upper division clerks in the secretariat and attached offices of the Government of India. An officer-level post of assistant secretary was created to reward the meritorious among its

members. The Central Secretariat Service possesses much more upward mobility.

An important recommendation of the Llewellyn Smith Committee was about the setting up of an O&M office in the government. One must note that such a recommendation was made as early as in 1919 when even the term had not been coined—the committee called it an Inspector of Office Procedures. It observed that for 'permanent and substantial improvement' in offices, an officer—to be called 'Inspector of Office Procedures—should be appointed, specially charged with supervising office procedure and ensuring its progressive improvement and adaption to changing conditions' (para 108 of the report). In the area of administrative management, the committee found that 'the hierarchy of secretariat officers contains too many classes' and that the best course was 'to dispense with the under secretary class'. It recommended a more rational distribution of work among the secretary, deputy and assistant secretaries.

In independent India, a minister is provided with the services of a private secretary who is drawn from the Indian Administrative Service. This post was first visualised by the Llewellyn Smith Committee which felt that under the reform of 1919, the workload on the member (the precursor of the minister) would increase and the department will have to be content with a diminished share of the time of the member. 'In order to meet this situation we urge very strongly that every Member of Council ... should be provided with the services of an official private secretary drawn from the Indian Civil Service.' Explaining the duties and responsibilities of the private secretary, the Committee observed:

> The private secretary should be capable not only of making routine and personal arrangements, interviewing visitors, protecting his chief from untimely intrusions and the like, but also of saving his chief's time by bringing to his notice papers that require immediate consideration and relieving him from the necessity of studying mazes of unimportant communications dealing with matters in which he has little or no interest. To ensure these results, the private secretary, however junior he may be, must be regarded by the secretariat as the chief's personal representative and ambassador, thus securing right of direct access to the senior officers both in his own and other departments.

The Committee continued:

> It follows that he must be a man fitted to enjoy such rights of access by his upbringing, liberal education and general outlook and for this reason and also from the fact that the private secretaries if they are to be of full value to the members must necessarily have access to material of a highly confidential character, we think it necessary to stipulate that the members' private secretaries should be drawn exclusively from the Indian Civil Service.

Government of India Secretariat Organisation and Procedure, 1937 (Maxwell Report)

When India introduced the next stage of constitutional change and thus adopted the Government of India Act, 1935, it set up in 1937, the Government of India Secretariat Organisation and Procedure under R.M. Maxwell (a member of the Indian Civil Service) to suggest suitable changes in the prevalent administration. The Government of India Act, 1935, one may note, carries a special meaning for India as it was this which remained as the first Constitution of India during 1947–49.

The Maxwell Committee's foremost task was to envisage the reorganisation of the secretariat of the Government of India in the light of the constitutional development embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. The committee felt that a radical change was to characterise the administrative set-up in the wake of the Act of 1935. The three salient features of the Government of India Act, 1935, were the introduction of a federation, provincial autonomy and the extension of the process of responsible government. These three features called for far-reaching changes in the country's public administration.

The Government of India Act, 1935, was to complete a process which began with its preceding constitution, namely the Government of India Act of 1919. Until the passage of the Government of the India Act, 1919, the lower level provincial government acted as the agent of the Government of India. The latter formulated policy in all spheres of public life but left the administration of the policy to the provincial administration. The Act of 1919 radically altered this arrangement though only in one sphere of administration. Under this Act, the provinces were given freedom of governance including policy-making in their own sphere without central intervention. In short, the Government of India Act, 1919, initiated the

process of converting the provinces into a system of horizontal administration. The Act of 1935 carried further this change and fully crystallised it.

The Government of India Act, 1935, established a federation in India but the federal system was to be of two different categories of units: the federating units were princely states and the British Indian provinces. As is known to the reader, the envisaged federation could never come into existence for want of the requisite numbers of princely states opting for this federal arrangement.

The third salient feature of the 1935 Act was the inauguration of responsible government. This entailed a shift of political power from the British parliament to Indian legislature and from the career bureaucracy to the elected representatives of the people. This was a considerable advancement for hitherto 'a bureaucracy operated with freedom from ministerial and legislative control and thus constituted the ruling class in India.'

The Maxwell committee examined the role and place of administration under responsible government and came to the conclusion that the machinery of administration must have a separate and continuous existence of its own. As ministers under the new orders would be drawn from public life there would inevitably be frequent changes of ministers. The ministers would surely bring with them political experience but not much administrative experience. As such, ministers would have to depend on the advice of senior civil servants who 'naturally possessed the requisite expertise in administration.' A permanent administrative set-up was thus absolutely essential to the successful working of responsible government.

The committee delineated the relationship between the minister and the secretary. The secretary should be in close personal touch with the minister and should keep him informed orally of everything of importance that may be going on in the department. The minister is the head of his department but he need not look into detailed administration. A division of work between the minister and the secretary is thus called for. The Maxwell committee recommended the following classes of business to be submitted to the minister:

1. Cabinets business, that is, business which under the rules must be brought before cabinet or about which the minister may wish to consult the cabinet.
2. Business which is likely to have political repercussions.
3. Parliamentary business.

4. Patronage.
5. Any other class of business which, in the opinion of the secretary, is of sufficient importance to be submitted to the minister.

The Maxwell committee favoured a trim and sleek secretariat. It laid emphasis on the unity of administrative control of each department and the combining of responsibility for advising the ministers on all matters relating to a department in one office. It did not favour posts of joint and additional secretaries. It recommended downright abolition of assistant secretaryships, too. One must note that British administrative opinion in India was generally critical of the post of joint and additional secretaries as these tended to weaken the control of the secretary and impair administrative unity.

The committee defended the tenure system of staffing recommending a term of six years for the secretary with eligibility for reappointment. It laid down fixed tenures for other functionaries in the secretariat. One may note that in the altered situation, the committee recommended the exchange of officers while introducing an element of permanence of stay.

Grants-in-aid

A grant or subsidy given by a government to a local one to help finance what the former considers to be a socially desirable activity. It is a structure of financial relationship among levels of government, especially in federal systems.

Grapevine

An informal communication method in an organisation. A person-to-person method of disseminating information by informal conversation. It is found to be more efficient than the formal one.

Green Paper

It is a document prepared by the British government for an interested individual to study a given problem and suggest reforms before a law is changed or made.

Greenpeace

It is a pressure group espousing the environmental cause of maintaining the balances in nature. It is an international, independent environmental organisation founded in the year 1971. The aim of Greenpeace is to ensure the continuing ability of the earth to nurture life in all its diversity. Greenpeace is against nuclear tests and the emission of toxic pollutants into the air and water by industry. It has a worldwide membership.

Green Revolution

The green revolution refers to the great and rapid increase of crop production in the mid-fifties and the sixties of the twentieth century by the combined use of increased chemical fertilisers and high-yielding varieties of grain. This increase was particularly to be found in the wheat and rice crops. The new varieties of high-yielding seeds needed more fertilisers and water than the conventional seeds. The rising food production led the farmers to concentrate on one or two high-yielding varieties of grain, which caused an imbalance in the ecosystem. The green revolution led to two other imbalances also —the regional imbalance and the class imbalance. Only certain regions assured of adequate water supply were benefited and other regions lagged behind. Besides, the green revolution did not benefit landless labourers and small farmers, which aggravated agrarian unrest in the country, naxalism being one of its manifestations.

Gresham's Law

Named after Sir Thomas Gresham (1519–79), who was a merchant and founder of the Royal Exchange during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Gresham's Law says that of two forms of currency the inferior or more depreciated tends to drive the other from circulation, owing to the hoarding and exportation of the better form. In other words, bad currency drives out good. The law has acquired a generalised connotation today, meaning 'easier things tend to drive out less easier things from active action'.

The original Gresham's Law is 'bad money drives out of circulation good money'. What it may mean is that the inferior may drive out the 'superior'. James March and Herbert Simon formulated what they call 'Gresham's Law of Planning' in their jointly authored work, *Organisations* (1958, p. 185). They say: 'Daily routine drives out planning ... When an individual is faced both with highly programmed and highly unprogrammed tasks, the former tend to take precedence over the latter even in the absence of strong over-all time pressure.'

When both the simple and the complex wait for solution a policy maker's tendency is to first sort out the simpler problems for the obvious reason that these require little challenge and effort. In government the temptation is even greater. A government works according to standardised procedures of work. The routine entraps the administrator.

An organisation may overcome

this inertia and be emboldened to take up certain challenging tasks provided two things are taken care of. First, the propensity to take up an activity is greater under time pressure. Deadlines spur direct attention and priority-building and hasten decision-making. Secondly, the greater the clarity of goals associated with an activity, the greater the propensity to engage in it. A solution, thus, lies in encouraging and training administrators who, by disposition, are frontier-pushers and risk-takers, who are result-oriented rather than procedure-bound.

Gross National Product

The Gross National Product is the total value of all goods and services produced by a nation's economy wthin a period of time, normally a year. GNP is a crude indicator of the level of economic activity in a country. The concept does not take into account environmental factors like pollution.

Group Dynamics

The study of the interaction of the behaviour of individuals as members of a group.

Gulick, Luther

Gulick is most remembered for his *Papers on the Science of Administration* jointly edited by Gulick and Urwick, and published in 1937. Of the two papers which he personally wrote, the *Notes of the Theory of Organisation* proved to be of seminal significance. The two contributions he made in it have now become the reference points for the future development of the theory of public administration. One such indelible contribution was POSDCORB, the acronym for seven functions of the chief executive—planning, organising, staffing, directing, co-ordinating, reporting, and budgeting. His other contribution was the explication of the principles of hierarchical organisation. Lyle C. Fitch has rightly commented: 'The article still stands as the prominent statement of the classic position on organisation, but more than that it revealed remarkable prescience by anticipating many trends of thinking about public administration.'

Gulick possessed a varied track record. He had served in several war agencies of the U.S.A. He was directly associated with New York city affairs during 1950–56. This induced his interest in urban and metropolitan problems. He applied his knowledge of economics, sociology, cultural anthropology, physics, biology, etc., to problems of public administration enriching the latter with metaphors drawn from all these disciplines. As a result, his ideas were evolving and becoming, with the passage of time, mellowed. In 1983, in an

article appearing in *Public Administration Review*, he wrote: 'Every governmental organisation is a socio-biological system ... not a machine'. This assertion shows how much Gulick departed from the mechanistic view of organisation he took in 1936. In the *Notes*, he mentioned in 1936:

> Organisation ... requires the establishment of a system of authority whereby the central purpose or objective of an enterprise is translated into reality through the combined efforts of many specialists ... It is clear from long experience that such a structure of authority requires not only many men at work in many places at selected times, but also a single directing executive authority.

Gulick was apparently much more chastened and in 1983, he wrote:

> The structure of the modern state is distinctly military. It is authoritative, with an authority concentrated at the top, and all the work, but not the authority, assigned to subordinate echelons and field commanders. We need more decentralisation and the abandonment of the present hierarchical, military-style structure of government ... we need to introduce in all non-military civil agencies a truly democratic and participatory system.

Gumastha
Clerk.

H

Habeas Corpus

Habeas corpus is an extra-ordinary right guaranteed to a citizen under the Constitution of India. A Latin term meaning 'you must have the body', habeas corpus requires a person under arrest to be brought before a judge to investigate the lawfulness of his or her detention. A bulwark of personal freedom, the habeas corpus can be issued by a high court for enforcement of fundamental rights and for any other purpose. The Supreme Court can issue it only for the enforcement of the fundamental rights.

England is the traditional home of this writ whose ancestry goes back to the days of the magna carta. The Habeas Corpus Acts of 1679 and 1816 provide the legal bases of personal freedom in Great Britain. A similar right is recognised in the legal system of the United States of America. This right ensures that imprisonment cannot take place without a legal hearing.

Haileybury College

(One of the earliest training schools for civil servants.) The Haileybury College was located within a reasonable distance of London to impart education in classics, arithmetic, mathematics, general law and oriental learning. Each pupil paid for his board and lodging and education. The fee was one hundred guineas per annum.

The East India College, as the Haileybury College was known, was opened in February 1806 and continued till January 1858. It was discontinued and closed in January 1958. A student had to spend four terms (in four years) and pass an examination. He had to possess a certificate before appointment. He had to reach the age of seventeen years before taking up his appointment in India.

The Haileybury College sponsored a school which was introductory to the college. The students of the school were consciously prepared for admission to the college but the latter was open to outsiders also. Similarly, the school prepared students for the college as well as for other areas of public life.

The Haileybury College was established by the East India Company in 1806, its first principal being Reverend S. Henley.

It was located at Hertfordshire near London, England. Each pupil paid for his board, lodging and education: the fee was one hundred guineas per annum. The college imparted general education to those who secured nomination to the civil service of India. Subjects of general culture like the classical languages, literature, history, political economy, beside oriental languages formed the courses of study. The whole training was based on the traditional English way—scholarship acquired in corporate social life. All the nominated candidates—who constituted the future Covenanted Civil Service of India—studied and stayed in one institution where they developed an esprit de corps which could not be maintained under later systems when candidates came from different universities and colleges and who were older. Attendance at the Haileybury College was mandatory. The students were admitted at the age of fifteen and remained there till they were eighteen. No Indian was ever admitted to the Haileybury College.

The college had under it a school, superintended by the principal where boys were admitted at an early age and taught the elements of general learning and such other accomplishments as were the objects of instruction in the larger seminaries of the country.

The Haileybury College was abolished in January 1858 consequent on the holding of open competitive examination for recruitment of civil servants.

Danvers, F.C. and others: *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, Westminster, Archibald Constable and Company, 1894.

Halo Effect

Halo effect occurs when there is a biased appraisal of performance. A halo effect refers to the tendency to minimise someone's faults or weaknesses. The opposite is the 'horns effect' by which is meant the tendency to evaluate some one negatively. The halo effect sees only the good points.

Handbook

The Webster's Dictionary defines handbook as 'a book capable of being conveniently carried as a ready reference manual; a concise reference book covering a particular subject.'

Since the 1980s, a large number of handbooks on public administration has been published. The major handbooks published in recent years are:

1. Jack Rabin, Bartley Hildreth, Gerald D. Miller (eds.): *Handbook of Public Admini-*

stration, Marcel Dekker, 1998.
2. Stephen E. Gondrey (ed.): *Handbook of Human Resource Management in Government*, Jossey Bass, 1998.
3. Philip J. Cooper and Chister A. Newland (ed.): *Handbook of Public Law and Administration*, Jossey Bass, 1997.
4. Terry L. Cooper (ed.): *Handbook of Administrative Ethics*, Marcel Dekker.
5. John J. Gagan (ed.): *Handbook of Local Government Administration*, Marcel Dekker, 1977.
6. James L. Perry (ed.): Jossey Bass, 1998.
7. Jack Rabin, Thomas Vacino, Bartley Hildreth and Gerald Miller (ed.): *Handbook of Public Personnel Administration*, Marcel Dekker, 1995.

Harijan

Literally meaning, 'people of God' given, by Mahatma Gandhi to replace the term, 'untouchables' used for people belonging to the scheduled castes. Also see scheduled castes.

Hartal

Suspension of business as a mark of protest.

Hastings, Warren

Warren Hastings, India's first governor-general, reorganised India's revenue administration and remodelled the judicial administration. L.S.S. O'Malley observed: 'The creation of a civil service in the modern sense of the term may be said to have been the work of both Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis. The former laid the foundations on which the latter built up a super-structure.'

L.S.S. O'Malley: *The Indian Civil Service 1601–1930*, London, Frank Cass & Co., 1965 edition, p. 23.

Havildar

A non-commissioned official in the army. It is a designation which dates from the middle of the eighteenth century.

Hawthorne Effect

Its name is derived from the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company, subsidiary of the Bell Telephone Company near Chicago. An experiment was carried out by the local engineers between 1924–27 in their search for answers to industrial questions. The engineers of the company divided the workers into two groups, one in whom the level of illumination was changed from time to time and another in whom the level remained unchanged. The engineers found that when illumination was increased the output increased. But the productivity also increased

when the level of lighting was decreased even when the illumination was as low as that of moonlight. In other words, productivity was showing an upward move regardless of manipulation in the level of illumination. This was contrary to abstract reason. 'What factors were at work?' the puzzled engineers asked. The answer lay in how the workers were treated; this made the difference in performance. The workers were not responding to the level of illumination but to the experiment itself and to their participation in it. The workers, in other words, responded according to the way they thought the management wanted and because they were the centre of attention. This effect is known as the Hawthorne Effect.

One of the unintentional findings of the famous Hawthorne Studies is the Hawthorne Effect, which means that employees live up to the expectation levels of their supervisors. The Hawthorne Studies disclosed that the very presence of the experimenters had its impact on the worker's behaviour.

Hawthorne Studies

Consciously planned series of studies undertaken at the Hawthorne plant of the Western Electric Company. Starting in 1927 these continued into the 1930s, and the researchers' team comprised Elton Mayo, F.J. Roethlisberger and W.J. Dickson. The studies pointed out the existence of norms of informal groups as opposed to explicit, officially promulgated rules which may not be adhered to by the members. The Hawthorne studies revealed that work efficiency was not the mere result of physical and economic conditions and highlighted the importance of attitudes and outlooks.

The mode of wage payment was piece-rate and yet, contrary to expectations the workers produced more or less up to a particular level and then stopped the work. The Hawthorne studies discovered the existence of certain norms in the group. The norms were:

1. Do not produce too much, if you do, you are a rate-buster.
2. Do not produce too little either, if you do you are a chiseller.
3. Do not carry tales to the boss about your colleagues, if you do, you are squealer.
4. If you are a superior do not act like a supervisor—act like the supervised.

Henry VIII Clause

An Act which delegates legislative powers to amend Acts of parliament. The Act under which

the powers are delegated, or other Acts, is known as the 'Henry VIII Clause'. Such an Act resembles the Statute of Proclamations, 1539, which gave the King power to legislate by proclamation. The Donoughmore Committee on Ministers' Power (1919), called for the discontinuance of the Henry VIII Clause, and fortunately, it has not appeared in Britain since then. In India, this clause, obnoxious though it is, is not completely unknown. To give an example, the Local Government Act, 1948, of Madhya Pradesh contained the Henry VIII Clause, empowering the government to modify or to amend the parent Act, to obviate difficulties in its operation.

Herd

Group of people sharing a common bond. The term was popularised by Elton Mayo, who is the father of the human relations theory of organisation. According to him, man is an isolated human, motivated by only monetary incentives, which he called the 'rabble hypothesis'. The most eloquent exponent of this view was Frederick Winslow Taylor, who believed that man was responsive only to financial incentives. Elton Mayo's Hawthorne experiments proved that this was not true: employees are organised as working groups actively collaborating with each other. In other words, an employee was not an isolated worker but was a part of the larger group. The rabble hypothesis, thus, gave way to herd hypothesis having a sharing culture. Also see 'rabble'.

Herzberg, Frederick

An American psychologist, Herzberg developed a theory of motivation based on job satisfaction. According to him, satisfaction with work and dissatisfaction with it are caused by different factors. Dissatisfaction is thus a result of job-context factors, which Herzberg calls 'hygiene' factors. Satisfaction, on the other hand, is caused by suitability of job, recognition, increased responsibility, etc. In other words, satisfaction with work is caused by 'job-content factors' which Herzberg calls 'motivators'. He laid emphasis on job enrichment and enlargement.

Hierarchy

Hierarchy arouses unsavoury images in our minds but it is inescapable when engaged in the business of administering. Indeed, so unavoidable is hierarchy to administration that it could be regarded as another name for administration. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines hierarchy as 'a body of persons or things ranked in grades, orders or classes,

one above another'. Websters defines it as 'any system of persons or things ranked one above another'. Hierarchy is division of work. When work is divided vertically we get levels like secretary, joint secretary, deputy secretary, under secretary, section officer, etc. The horizontal division of work produces a battery of deputy secretaries reporting to a secretary. Similarly, a deputy secretary should have under him a number of under secretaries, all working at the same level. Hierarchy is an organisation of grades or ranks of descending authority, power or prestige. The term had its origin in religion—that is in the Roman Catholic Church. There were nine orders of the heavenly host, subdivided into 'hierarchies' in descending order—seraphim, cherubim, thrones, dominations, virtues, powers, principalities, archangels, angels.

Since administration necessarily involves division of work, hierarchy is inherent and cannot be avoided. It has its obvious uses. It is a channel of communication. Instead of all persons in an organisation being told about a particular matter, only those concerned with it are informed. A deputy secretary not concerned with a portfolio is thus, not sent a file relating to that matter. It is a device of decision-making. All concerned levels participate in the decision-making. It is a device of fixing and enforcing accountability. It is the path of delegation. Above all, it is a very useful mechanism of succession-building also and is thus an integral part of career planning. Hierarchy is the relationships of work. But work is inevitably divided which divides workers; natural work relationships are transformed into social relationships. Thus, one human being becomes subordinate to another and in turn dominates the one lower than him. This is distasteful and contrary to the concepts of equality and dignity of man. God has created men equal, but hierarchy makes them superior and subordinate. This is the single most unsavoury feature of hierarchy, and cannot be avoided —at least so long as work is performed by a human being. Its harshness, of course, can be minimised by humanising the public personnel in the organisation and by inculcating in them the value that hierarchy is functional—and functional only.

Hierarchy, being a principle of organisation, is subject to all the criticisms levelled against 'principles of organisation'. As Herbert Simon said the principle of hierarchy is like a proverb, moving in contradictory pairs. It is not compatible with the principle of span of control. If too many levels of hierarchy are to be avoided, span

of control has necessarily to be enlarged, which too produces its own dysfunctionalities.

Henri Fayol was aware of the limitations of hierarchy; close adherence to it creates complications, to overcome which, he recommended the 'gangplank' principle. This principle allows direct communication among people serving at the same level of the hierarchy, with, of course, prior permission from the supervisors. Fayol argued that this did not repudiate the integrity of hierarchy.

One may, in the end, conclude that while its undesired effects should be minimised, hierarchy is an imperative to organisation. It is not merely an attribute of formal organisation. It pervades a modern society. Nor is it inherently incompatible with development administration. R. Stephen Milne pointed out that hierarchy fostered elitist values, and recommended changes in public recruitment, training, pay scales and decentralisation to remove its unsavouriness. Yet, Milne regards hierarchy to be unavoidable to some degree and also as having certain positive values.

Robert Presthus defines hierarchy as 'a system for ranking positions along a descending scale from the top to the bottom of an organisation'. Hierarchy refers to 'line' relationships: the 'staff' personnel do not give orders. But this distinction is becoming tenuous in view of the growing influence of the specialists in modern organisations. Hierarchy is the authority relationship in an organisation. In the beginning, authority was based on charisma, as Max Weber observed. But when charisma began to be routinised, rules and officials began to emerge: these replaced charisma. The discretion of the official was necessarily limited and the power he exercised was not personal but legal and therefore functional. Thus viewed, as Robert Presthus says, hierarchy 'is the result of the separation of personal charismatic authority from official authority'. Yet, charismatic authority remains quite marked in modern organisations particularly at the top, as Victor Thompson observes. This happens because hierarchy and prestige associated with it are easily maintained because the top person's roles are not clearly defined. It is common to find hierarchically low functionaries in awe of those at the top level in hierarchy and thus drape them with charismatic powers. This is continually reinforced also by hierarchical differences in status, power and income. In short, the deference shown to the hierarchical leaders borders on charisma. This is legitimised by the commonly held beliefs about

what distinguishes those who succeed and those who do not.

The principal function of hierarchy is to validate authority along a descending scale throughout an organisation. Hierarchy thus determines the authority structure of the organisation. It performs many other functions. Authority is delegated to the point where the necessary skill to carry out the job is available. Thus viewed, hierarchy links authority with skill. It allocates the status in the organisation too. Status is defined in the dictionary as 'social position, relation to others, relative importance'. We all know that prestige and deference attached to various positions in the organisation follow the hierarchy. As Robert Presthus observes: 'The largest amounts of deference are assigned to those at the top of the hierarchy, and the relative amounts decrease at a disproportionate rate as one descends... Those in the upper levels of the organisation are more highly reinforced because status indexes are skewed towards the top'.[1]

[1]Presthus, Robert: *The Organisational Society*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1962, pp. 36–37.

Hierarchy of Needs

Associated with Abraham Maslow, it is a theory of human motives which constitute a hierarchy. The most basic needs are physiological—food, water, sex. These needs must be satisfied before other needs, higher in the hierarchy, are considered. Need for safety is the next level. In still another category would fall love, affection and belongingness. Still higher levels would include needs for esteem, mastery, competence and prestige. The highest level in the hierarchy of needs is the need for self-actualisation, which does not appear until the lower-level needs are satisfied.

Hindutva

'Hindutva' is Hindu-ness. The term is derived from the title of a book, which V.D. Savarkar had written in 1927, arguing that Hindus were a nation. Hindutva is Hindu nationalism.

Hired Guns

Jokingly, referred to a particular category of consultants. Such consultants throw to the wind their analytical honesty and merely pander to the prejudices of their clients: they overlook their professional integrity and give a report which the latter desire. Hired guns are also known as 'belt way bandits'.

Hispanics

The 'Hispanics' refers to the minority group in the U.S.A. consisting of people from Mexico,

Central American countries, Puerto Rico and Cuba. People from these countries, now settled in the U.S.A., constituted 6.4 per cent of the U.S. population in 1980, rising to 9 per cent in 1990. It is the fastest growing minority in the U.S.A. Mexicans are concentrated in Texas and California, Puerto Ricans are clustered in New York while Cubans are mostly settled in Florida. The Hispanics are people who came from Spanish-speaking areas.

History Sheeters

This refers to those criminals with a long history of crimes like thefts and robberies. The history sheeters list is maintained in a police station.

Horns Effect

See under Halo Effect.

Human Relations Theory of Organisation

The human relations theory of organisation is an alternative paradigm to Frederick Winslow Taylor's scientific management. Human relations involve the study of problems arising from people's interactions with organisations and their inter-personal relations. The human relations theory seeks to promote better interpersonal relations in an organisation.

The human relations theory of organisation emerged much after the scientific management theory by Frederick Taylor had established itself. Taylor's theory had adopted a view of man where monetary motivation alone mattered to him. He regarded an individual as an isolated human being uninfluenced by other fellow human beings. The research findings by the team, comprising Elton Mayo, F.J. Roethlisberger and William Dickson at the Western Electric Plant at Hawthorne, near Chicago, proved otherwise. The Hawthorne studies spread over 1927–32 showed that an organisation is a social system and its members are motivated by prevalent group norms and regulations and thus not merely by monetary considerations. Taylor believed that an individual worker interacts directly with the organisation but the Hawthorne studies showed that group norms and values prevailed over the individual employees and in case of a conflict between the group norms and the employer's formal rules the employee's behaviour would be more governed by the former. The Hawthorne studies proved that an organisation is more than a workplace; it is a social system with its own parallel organisation, called informal organisation, comprising social values, norms, understandings

and expectations. Employees' behaviour is governed no less by peer groups and supervisor-employee relationships.

The human relations theory does not supplant Taylor's scientific management: it truly supplements it. Taylor, to repeat, argued that human beings were motivated only by monetary factors. Elton Mayo and his colleagues expanded Taylor's motivational base: employees reacted to the way they were treated by the supervisors. Every organisation is underpinned by an informal organisation. The workers would give their best if the management cooperates with them and does not fight with the informal organisation. This is why Elton Mayo is sometimes called a Neo-Taylorian.

The organisation comprising the human elements received organised attention only around the 1920s and the Hawthorne experiments highlighted the human needs and human concerns of the employees. It showed that informal organisation by which is meant the spontaneously emerging network of personal and social relations among employees, exists within the formal organisation. The human relations theory is also called as 'informal organisation theory' because of its emphasis on informal structure of organisation.

In short, during 1900–39, public administration was dominated by the classical organisation theory and the human relation's theory. To this list were added the decision-making theory and systems theory but this development occurred after the Second World War.

Human Rights

Popularised after the Second World War, 'human rights' are traditionally known as 'natural rights' or 'rights of man'. These rights, according to John Locke, are the rights to life, liberty and property'.

The subject of 'human rights' is perhaps, the most powerful new addition to the international agenda of items demanding immediate implementation. The issue has emerged only after the Second World War (1939–45). It is thus of somewhat recent acceptance, but the idea is definitely an old one though known by a different name. Earlier, the term in currency was 'natural rights' or the 'rights of man'. Today, 'human rights' is an accepted term. 'Human rights', briefly, refer to those rights possessed by human beings because they are human beings. *The Oxford Word-Power Dictionary*, published in 1993, defines human rights as the basic freedom that all people should have, e.g. the right to say what you think, travel freely, etc.

Not every age possessed the concept of human rights. There is indeed, a controversy over whether the legal system of the ancient Greeks or Romans evinced an extended knowledge of the concept of rights, much less of human rights. In Europe, the concept of rights did not emerge until the twelfth century but a full-fledged theory of natural rights developed by the end of the fourteenth century. Subsequently, two different schools of thought about natural rights appeared, typified by Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704). Hobbes ascribed virtually unlimited rights to man in his natural ('pre-political') condition which he surrendered completely on entering civil society. On closer analysis, the Habbesian theory of natural rights appears to be compatible with his advocacy of absolute governmental authority. John Locke, on the other hand, talked about the partial surrender of natural rights for the assurance of social peace, the unsurrendered part remaining with the individuals when a civil society was formed. Locke thus, affirmed that government did not enjoy, and could not claim, absolute authority; a limited government emerged as a consequence of surrender of the limited number of natural rights. Man had not given up his natural rights to life, liberty and property: these rights were inalienable. This interpretation of natural rights provided the defence of both the English Revolution of the 1640s and the English Rebellion of 1688. In other words, people had the natural right to defy an oppressive government.

Three consequences flowed directly from Locke's theory. First, men enjoyed equal rights in a state of nature, no one claimed more or less. Second, the maintenance and protection of natural rights of men set a definite limit to the authority of government. The overall message signalled by Locke's theory was loud and clear, namely a government violating the rights of its citizens forfeited claim to obedience and could be legitimately overthrown. The natural rights found affirmation and reaffirmation with the passage of time. The American Declaration of Independence (1776) affirmed as 'self-evident' truths that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, some of which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Thirteen years later, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens reiterated similar claims.

The human rights of today are the offspring of the liberal theory of natural rights. Indeed, so close is the link that the two terms,

'natural rights' and 'human rights' are used interchangeably. Certain human rights are natural rights in the sense that they are natural of people: human beings possess them in their natural capacity as humans, and not because of any particular system of law under which they happen to live. Human rights are mostly claimed against the state although they can be asserted against private individuals as well as against private associations. The principal context of human rights is evidently political: these rights are a constant reminder to the state that it cannot violate certain rights of the individuals as they antedate the state and are entirely autonomous of it. The latter must therefore respect them.

Contents of human rights

The post-Second World War period has witnessed successive proclamations of human rights. The ball was set rolling with the adoption, in 1945, of the United Nations Charter which, in Article 55, provides that the world body shall promote universal respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, and, in Article 56, that member-nations 'pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the organisation for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55'. In 1948, the United Nations spelled out what constituted human rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted unanimously except for eight countries including the then Soviet bloc nations, South Africa and Saudi Arabia which abstained. The subsequent years witnessed the signing of a number of international agreements in which the sovereign states committed themselves to respect additional human rights, the prominent among them being the European Convention on Human Rights (1950), the International Covenant or Civil and Political Rights (1966), the American Convention on Human Rights (1969), the 'Helsinki' Accords (1975), and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1981). Equally, it is not uncommon on the part of individual nation-states to enshrine a body of human rights in their constitutions, even though the exact nomenclature may change. India's Constitution, framed soon after independence in 1947, contains a chapter on what it calls fundamental rights. These rights, which are justiciable in nature, are seven in number: right to equality, right to freedom, right against exploitation, right to freedom of religion, cultural and educational rights, right to property (this right was deleted in 1975) and right to

constitutional remedies. These are to be read along with certain non-justiciable 'rights' contained in the Constitution's directive principles of state policy such as right to work, living wage for workers, free education for children, etc.

It is time now to gain a broad idea, about the contents of human rights as articulated internationally, namely, in the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights (1948). These rights fall in six clear categories. First and foremost in the category is the right to life, which includes protection against murder or physical assault or deprivation of material essentials of life and health care. The second category includes freedom of thought, expression, religion, association and movement. The third is the right to property. This right was prominently highlighted in earlier declarations but in more recent times is being underplayed. Today, it generally has a low rating. The fourth category includes rights concerning the individual's status as a citizen such as right to nationality and democratic rights. The fifth category seeks to regulate the behaviour of the state by integrating into the laws of the land processes like the rule of law, judicial review, right to a fair trial, right not to be subjected to arbitrary arrest, etc. Finally, human rights are of late compulsory including rights of a social, cultural and economic nature. This category includes rights to education, work, social security, rest and leisure and a minimum of living standard. These rights were not completely absent in earlier pronouncements, but are being accorded increasing importance in recent discussions. In short, social justice is becoming more and more prominent, especially in the third world dicussions of human rights.

The present age is witness to an ever-expanding meaning of human rights. This is a consequence of the rapid pace of human civilisation itself. The right to privacy has acquired greater urgency precisely because it is being menacingly invaded by sophisticated systems of communication and social control. In 1973, the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers passed a resolution to protect personal privacy by the use of electronic databases in the private sector. Reflecting this thinking in this country, the Supreme Court in a landmark judgment, delivered on 11 October 1994, ruled that a citizen has the right to safeguard the privacy of his own self, his family, marriage, procreation, motherhood, childbearing and education, among others.[1] Another crucial issue is the right to life, which in fact is the bedrock of all other rights. In this connection, the

First International Colloquium on Human Rights held in 1992, observed, 'The possibility that human life can be maintained in conditions which at times may be considered despicable has led to its consideration in reversible terms as the right to life as well as death, in a formula which, notwithstanding, has received scant attention in positive legal texts'.[2] In the same category falls the right to procreate. The colloquium observes: 'if it transpires that improvements in the fields of medicine and biology permit to have children that are not born by natural methods, the problem would arise as to who would have such rights as well as problems concerning possible limitations on the use of such technological advances or economic gains that might be derived there from'.[3] The human rights aspects of health also oblige the state to undertake measures 'to eliminate epidemics and malnutrition.'

Human rights have not been articulated at any one point in time nor are these embodied in a single document. They have evolved and the process is still ongoing. What is more, they are given shape and substance primarily by the United Nations even though regional organisations like the Council of Europe and the Organisation of American States have been playing a notable role in advancing the cause. Among the increasing number of bodies concerned with human rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights is easily the first milestone. These civil and political rights constitute the first generation of rights. Then were added the economic, social and cultural rights embodied in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, passed by the U.N. General Assembly in 1966. These were the second-generation rights. There is today an expanding conception of human rights, and mention needs to be made particularly of the International Covention on the Elimination of all Forms of Social Discrimination (1969), the Convention against Torture and other Cruel Treatment and Punishment (1987) and the Convention on Rights of Children (1990). These constitute the third-generation human rights. An international debate is already taking place on themes such as environment, development, rights of indigenous people, etc. It is being increasingly realised that the right to life would be incomplete without environmental rights: without clean air and water, the enjoyment of economic rights is to remain uncertain. Such items constitute the fourth-generation human rights.

'Human rights', one may

recall, are a solemn reminder or even warning to the state that it owes its citizens the duty to respect them. The human rights practices of modern governments—their respect for due process of law, the rights of citizens not to be subjected to cruel and degrading punishment—are undergoing surveillance by international and national organisations as well as by voluntary agencies. The U.N. Commission on Human Rights is an international watchdog organisation, which discusses in its annual meetings a wide range of human-rights issues and has appointed a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Since 1977, the United States of America has been publishing the annual Human Rights Report. This publication surveys the domestic policies and behaviour of all members of the United Nations. Mention must also be made of the useful work being done by human rights groups operating outside the government such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Human Rights Research, American Civil Liberties Union also. This includes India's People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), too. Foremost among such voluntary organisations is undoubtedly the Amnesty International. Founded in 1961 by the British lawyer Peter Benenson with its headquarters at London, the Amnesty International is the largest non-governmental human rights organisation in the world having 700,000 members spread over 150 countries. With the headquarters staff of more than 250 well-trained and dedicated persons, Amnesty International has set high standards of research and reporting. It covers human rights violations all over the world. The Amnesty International has stood for abolition of all forms of torture and extra-judicial killings. The non-governmental organisations help shape public opinion in favour of human rights and give the much-needed publicity to governmental practices in this regard. By serving as watchdog organisations they tend to act as a check on the sovereign states in the exercise of their coercive powers vis-a-vis their citizens.

Weak observance

Human rights, today, occupy top-level priority internationally as well as nationally. But their observance leaves much to be desired. First, the evolution and acceptance of precise human rights is a slow meandering process. A mere endorsement of an international bill or charter is not sufficient: It has to be ratified, and a particular covenant becomes operative and thus legally binding only upon its ratification

by a required number of member states. It is, therefore, a common practice for states to vote for human rights conventions in the United Nations but to drag their feet and move in slow motion in the matter of ratifications. This is the characteristic behaviour of even the 'staunch' champion of human rights, the U.S.A. It was as late as in September 1992 that the United States of America ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Secondly, international agreement on the substance of human rights gets hampered by wide differences in social and economic philosophies of the member states. Even in the West, individual nations are rooted in different intellectual thoughts. The German tradition, for instance, rejects the notion of rights as inhering in the individual; the state, according to it, is the source of rights. Look at another problem—some states accord primacy to civil and political rights while socialism lays the utmost emphasis on economic and social rights. The countries of the third world, which are ancient societies but new nation-states, have their own conception and interpretation of human rights. Such wide divergences make difficult the task of universal applicability of human rights. Even otherwise, human rights as articulated are 'extremes', while the task of government requires balancing of forces and factors.

Thirdly, the practice of most states belies their formal formulations. Today, one sees a proliferation of covenants, conventions, treaties, etc. on human rights but their operationalisation often depends, in varying measures, upon extraneous conditions. A complex of factors—strategic, political and trade—conditions the approach to human rights.

To give an example, Egypt and Israel, two large recipients of American aid and close allies of the U.S.A., have rarely faced the threat of having their assistance cut off because of persistent violations of human rights. The international arena is basically an arena of politics and even dialogues on human rights are politically charged and animated. Deals were even struck between rival powers so as not to embarrass each other on violations of human rights. In the mid-seventies, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union reached an agreement under which the former was not to raise in the United Nations the Afghanistan issue in exchange for the Soviet Union's not raising the issue of Chile in the U.N. Human Rights Commission. One may recall, in both Afghanistan and Chile growing violations of human rights were common knowledge.

The fourth most serious flaw of human rights lies in an absence of enforcement mechanisms. There are, to be sure, organs to monitor and report breaches but enforcement powers are weak and thus unhelpful. Of all the enforcement bodies, the most effective perhaps, are the European Commission of Human Rights and the European Court. These alone have been relatively successful in protecting and implementing human rights. Let this be remembered that ultimate sanctions behind human rights is publicity and public opinion which itself is weak, at least in the vulnerable states.

Nation-states today are according high priority to human rights and their track record is being evaluated internationally which is fast emerging as a factor in international relations. In such a larger context, India's theory and practice of human rights needs an examination.

Human rights and India's response

India's Constitution, framed during 1947–49, is strongly rooted in the classical western constitutional values of liberalism, rule of law, judicial review, etc. Its three key features are parliamentarism, federalism and economic arrangements based on a broad, humanistic social philosophy. The Indian Constitution enshrines provisions relating to fundamental rights and provides for judicial review. It protects freedom of speech for all and of the press though broadcasting is state-controlled. The press as a whole is a champion of human rights.

The country's legal system is designed to ensure a fair trial but the process is dilatory, vexatious and inaccessible to the poor. Features like parliamentary democracy based on regular competitive elections, free press, civilian-controlled military, independent judiciary and active political parties and interest groups provide a supportive environment to human rights observance.

But colonial traditions are not inoperative or dead. Police atrocities are a common feature of the Indian scenario. Women and children are particularly vulnerable groups as they are living under unique handicaps. Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are similarly disadvantaged groups with severely restricted access to human rights. Some of the common forms of violations of human rights are the torture of arrested persons, the disappearance of suspects who ought to have been in regular police custody, deaths in fake encounters and at police stations, and under-trials detained in jails for years without trial. Violations are

reported to be much more widespread in terrorism-stricken states like Punjab and Jammu-Kashmir. The police is perhaps the unrepenting, top culprit in this regard, and thus the uppermost task would be to keep its activities on a leash. The statute book is presently disfigured by laws like Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, the National Security Act, and the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, which need closer scrutiny. Such laws make a mockery of human rights.

A demand was thus being made in favour of the setting up of the human rights commission. In keeping with the spirit of the human rights movement all over the world, the National Human Rights Commission came into existence in India in 1993, through an ordinance promulgated on 28 September 1993 by the president of India. Soon, the ordinance was replaced by a statute called the Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993, which came into force in 1994. This Act provided for the setting up of the National Human Rights Commission at the centre as well as in the states.

The National Human Rights Commission consists of a chairman and four members, all of them being full-time members. The commission also has as its deemed members the chairpersons of the National Commission for Minorities, the National Commission of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and the National Commission for Women. The multi-membership is intended to reinforce the independence and impartiality of the commission. Of the five members including the chairman, three must be from a high-level judicial background and the remaining two must have knowledge of, or practical experience in matters relating to human rights. The chairperson must be no less than a former chief justice of the Supreme Court. This composition imparts to the commission judicial experience of the highest level and knowledge of human rights matters. It marks a significant departure from the original structure, which was a plainly bureaucratic outfit. As laid down in the original bill, the commission was to be a five-member one, the chairperson drawn from amongst the judges, sitting or retired, of the Supreme Court of India. Of the remaining four members, three were to possess experience in general administration at the level of secretary to the Government of India, police administration at the level of secretary to the Government of India and legal affairs at the level of secretary to the Government of India or a judge of a high court or a jurist.

Originally, the commission was thus over-weighted in favour of persons having a bureaucratic background. To ensure the appointment of persons who possess the necessary independence, objectivity and competence to the commission, a committee which includes the leaders of the opposition in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha recommends the names. The other members of this committee, which is headed by the prime minister, are the speaker of the Lok Sabha, the deputy chairman of the Rajya Sabha, and the home minister. The members of the commission, including the chairperson, are appointed by the president for a term of five years or till the age of seventy, whichever is earlier. They enjoy security of tenure, and their removal from membership is rendered difficult. The Human Rights Commission is put on par with the Supreme Court in this respect: the procedure prescribed for removal of the Supreme Court judges is to apply in the case of commission members.

The National Human Rights Commission is designed to protect human rights, defined as 'rights relating to life, liberty, equality and dignity of the individual guaranteed by the Constitution or embodied in the International Covenant and [which] are enforceable by the Courts in India'.[4] The 'International Covenants' specified here cover in their ambit the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenants of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 16 December 1966.[5] The United Nations has to its credit a number of other covenants which prohibit discrimination, torture, etc., but the commission has left them out of its purview, thus effectively restricting its reach. It would have been for the better if all international covenants were automatically to become a part of the definition of human rights.

The National Human Rights Commission has been created to protect human rights and check the negligence to prevent violations by public servants. The serious areas of human-rights violations in India are custodial deaths, custodial rapes, and misuse of Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act. In India, the single greatest violators of human rights are the personnel in uniform, namely the police, and the paramilitary services. The commission can take up its inquiry suo motu or on a petition presented by a victim or any person on his behalf. This is a very liberal provision for safeguarding human rights.

In order to further human

rights, the commission has also been given the following functions and powers:

1. It can intervene in any legal proceedings involving an allegation of violation of human rights.
2. It can also visit, with the prior approval of the state government, any jail to study the living conditions of the inmates and make recommendations.
3. It can review the safeguards provided by or under the Constitution or any law for the protection of human rights and recommend measures for their effective implementation.
4. The Commission also reviews the factors, including acts of terrorism, that inhibit the enjoyment of human rights and recommends remedial measures.
5. It also undertakes and promotes research in the field of human rights.
6. Finally, it encourages the non-governmental organisations working in the field of human rights.

This is a broad charter of functions, indeed. The only undesirable element among these is the stipulation that the commission must get the 'prior approval' of the state government concerned before visiting a prison. This is a frustrating provision. Even a district magistate can make a surprise visit to the jails, but not the human rights commission which is vested with powers equivalent to the Supreme Court!

To fulfil its role of inquiring into cases of violation of human rights suo motu, the commission has internally developed an efficient newspaper-scanning system for news on human rights infringements. The commission meets every morning to discuss, among other matters, such violations and then decide upon appropriate further action. This is an effective way of monitoring the 'state-of-the-art' in respect of human rights. At the same time, all the strengths and weaknesses of the printed media get reproduced in the human rights monitoring system of the commission. One such weakness lies in the incidents from the vast rual areas of the country getting under-reported.

The National Human Rights Commission has been in existence for a year now. It has overcome the initial hurdles of accommodation, manpower and contact. It has started interacting with non-governmental organisations involved with human rights. So are contacts with international organisations developing. The commission has at present an annual budget of Rs 2.10 crore and a sanctioned staff strength of 180. The

number of personnel at present is nearly 100, excluding investigation personnel. The commission has its own investigation team, which is itself a distinguishing feature. It is under a statutory obligation to prepare an annual report on its activities and submit it to Parliament. This moulds public opinion in favour of human rights and keeps the executive alert.

Mention in the end must be made of the statute stipulating the setting up of human rights commissions in the states. Madhya Pradesh has already moved ahead and established such a body.

[1]*The Economic Times*, 12 October 1994.

[2]La Laguna University: *The Reform of International Institutions for the Protection of Human Rights*, Brussels, Bruyland Bruxelles, 1993, p. 91.

[3]*Ibid.*, pp. 91–2.

[4]Section 2(e) of Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993.

[5]Section 2(f).

Huzoor

His honour; lordship.

Hygiene Factor

The concept was developed by Frederick Herzberg and refers to those factors in an organisation which cause 'dissatisfaction'. The hygiene factors are job-context factors such as salary, supervision, working conditions, status, job security, etc. Improvement of hygiene factors will cause satis- faction which, however will be a short-lived phenomenon. Removal of hygiene factors does not motivate the employees: motivators are different.

I

Idiographic

Pertaining to individual case histories.

Imaging System

The imaging system enables images of documents to be scanned from films, optical discs and compact discs. This device is a move towards reducing paper work in an office. The transport department uses an imaging system to store computer records of vehicles.

Impeachment

'To impeach' means 'to charge the holder of a public office with misconduct. The practice originated in Great Britain in the fourteenth century and gained popularity in the seventeenth century. No impeachment proceedings have been conducted in that country since 1806. In the U.S.A., the impeachment proceedings against the president can be instituted in the lower house which may result in the dismissal of the incumbent and his disqualification from office. Andrew Jackson was the only American president who was removed from office.

In India, the president can be impeached under the Constitution. The charge may be preferred by either house of legislature by means of a resolution which has to be moved after at least fourteen days' notice in writing signed by not less than one-fourth of the total number of members of the house. The resolution has to be passed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the house. When the charge has been preferred by either house, the other house has to investigate the charge or cause it to be investigated. The president enjoys the right to appear and to be represented at such an investigation. If, as a result of the investigation, a resolution is passed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total membership of the house, by which the charge was investigated, then it is declared that the charge preferred against the president has been sustained. The resolution once passed results in removal of the president from the office.

Impeachment, thus, means the arraignment of a high civil official, generally holding a constitutional position such as the president, judges, etc. Impeachment may

include removal of the public official from office. It, however, does not include payment of fine or imprisonment for wrongdoing or misdemeanour. Impeachment is a check on the possible arbitrary behaviour by the executive and the judicial branches of the government.

Improvisation

Improvisation stands outside of rational policy-making and is, thus, not in harmony with Weber's thought on bureaucracy. The dictionary defines it as 'composition on the spur of the moment, extemporaneously without prior preparation'. Improvisation is a consequence of bounded rationality and is a product of cultural and personal predilections and environmental circumstances.

Incrementalism

Incrementalism refers to a policy of making changes, especially social changes, by gradualism. Incrementalism is a method of decision-making in which all of the alternatives are not considered. The approach is short term and pragmatic and thus does not take into account benefits for the society in the long run. It recognises the legitimacy of established programmes and agrees to continue the previous level of expenditure by adding a certain percentage of allocations. It thus proposes only increments of change.

Incrementalism is perhaps the most widely accepted theory of public policy-making. It was first formulated by Charles Lindblom. Incrementalism argues that a public policy is mostly a continuation of the past policy and bears a strong resemblance to it. As the existing policy manifests consensus in the larger society, the incremental method gains an easy acceptance and thus maintains harmony and peace. The incrementalist theory is plainly conservative: it is status quoist, or rather it maintains 'quo' when the status has lost its status in the society!

Incrementalism is most conspicuous in the budgetary process. The credit for developing the concept of incrementalism goes to Charles Lindblom, who propounded it in 1959 in his article, 'The Science of Muddling Through', published in *Public Administration Review* (vol. 19). This article has been reproduced in over forty anthologies. Policies are considered piecemeal and the focus is on small changes in the status quo. But changes all over the space are not uniform and not well coordinated. A present policy is thus fundamentally a continuation of the past policy with only incremental modifications. What is paramount is that the policy-maker's administrative behaviour

is incremental. Another leading exponent of incrementalism is Aaron Wildavsky.

The incremental model has its advantages but its limitations are no less obvious. First and foremost is that this approach is inherently conservative and status quoist. It makes it very difficult for the government to direct the society it wants, for its penetrative strategy is diffused, multi-dimensional and even may be mutually contradictory. Incrementalism tends to be reinforcing: every interest builds up support in the corresponding department which lobbies for the former's continuance. Besides, this leads to involvement of more and more agencies, rendering all the more difficult the resultant problems of coordination. Secondly, as incrementalism believes in the adoption of small steps in changing a policy, it may end up with unintended and unforeseen consequences. American scholars cite the case of the American Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961 as the culmination of the incremental approach. This approach is notoriously weak in 'organisational memory': what were the original motivating considerations get overlooked. Thirdly, where the challenge is to redirect and reconstruct the entire society, the incremental model of policy-making is not to be preferred and adopted.

Independent Member

An independent member is a member elected as such to a legislative house without being a candidate set up by any political party. An independent member forfeits his or her elective seat if he joins any political party after his election.

Independent Regulatory Commission

Even if they are not truly independent, independent regulatory commissions, eleven in number, are a peculiarly American institution created to perform regulatory functions. They are multi-member bodies lying outside the jurisdiction of the president and are equally outside the executive departments. They are endowed with great quasi-legislative and quasi-judicial powers. The first independent regulatory commission was the Inter-State Commerce Commission, established in 1887, nearly a hundred years after the framing of the U.S. constitution. Other such bodies created later are: Federal Trade Commission, Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, Securities and Exchange Commission, Federal Communications Commission, National Labour Relations Board, Federal Reserve Board, Federal Maritime Commission, and Consumer Product Safety Commission. Independent regulatory

commissions are referred to as the fourth branch of government.

Indian Covenanted Civil Service

The Indian Covenanted Civil Services came into existence with the inception of the East India Company in 1600 and its abolition was recommended by the Aitchison Commission on Public Service in 1887. The recommendation was implemented in 1892 and the service was wound up in that year itself. The Indian Covenanted Civil Service was renamed as the Indian Civil Service.

The Indian Covenanted Civil Service was appointed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company and a newly recruited servant was obliged to sign a covenant—hence called the Covenanted Civil Service. The service had a hierarchy, the lowest level being that of apprentice. After seven years of service, an apprentice became a writer, the three other higher grades being those of factor, junior merchant and senior merchant.

After 1694, the grade of apprentice was discontinued and the lowest level of entry was in the grade of writer. Till 1674, civil servants were recruited and remunerated according to their individual pulls and merit. In that year, however, a regular service was constituted with fixed salaries and well-defined conditions of employment. The covenant, which every civil servant had to sign, reserved, among others, all higher positions in administration to the covenanted civil servants. This reservation received statutory sanction by the Act of 1793, which laid down that covenanted civil servants alone could be appointed to the civil posts in India.

Indian Institute of Public Administration

Of the twelve recommendations made by Paul H. Appleby (*Public Administration in India: Report of a Survey* [1953]) two were immediately accepted; these being related to the setting up of an institute of public administration and of the organisation and methods division in the Government of India. The initiative for the establishment of the institute was taken by the recently established Planning Commission tasked, among others, with the responsibility of revamping the country's public administration to suit the needs of a democratic republican constitution and a welfare state. The deputy chairman of the Planning Commission (V.T. Krishnamachari) convened an informal meeting on 29 October 1953. The meeting emphasised the urgent need to establish an institute of public administration. The institute was formally registered under the Societies

Registration Act, 1860, on 13 March 1954. The first list of office bearers were Jawaharlal Nehru as president and V.T. Krishnamachari as chairman, D.G. Karve as the first (part-time) director of the Indian Institute of Public Administration and V.K.N. Menon as the first full-time director—he joined on 1 August 1956.

The Indian Institute of Public Administration was formally inaugurated at the Hyderabad House, New Delhi on 29 March 1954, Jawaharlal Nehru being in the chair. He exhorted all concerned to keep the human approach in administration always in the forefront of their studies. The institute's responsibilities included:

1. Publication of a regular journal and of research papers from time to time;
2. maintenance of a library and clearing house for information;
3. conducting research projects and studies in public administration problems;
4. holding seminars and conferences;
5. conducting postgraduate study courses and refresher courses;
6. assisting in the development of graduate study programmes in public administration at the universities and the establishment of a school or schools of public administration.

The Indian Institute of Public Administration started its work in October 1954 with an office in Sapru House in a set of rooms of the Indian Council of World Affairs. The Institute was allotted a space at the Indraprashtha Estate for its permanent accommodation. From Sapru House, the institute moved to the Curzon Road barracks and then, to hired premises at 6 Bhagwan Das Road. It shifted to its own premises at the Indraprashtha estate in July 1958. The first issue of the *Indian Journal of Public Administration* was published in January–March 1955. Since then it has been publishing a quarterly by the same name. Since 1958, it has also been organising an annual essay competition, its aim being to encourage original and significant contributions to the study of public administration, especially in the Indian context.

Indian Political Service

The Indian Political Service was earlier known as the 'Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India', abbreviated to F&P. The name 'Indian Political Service' was coined at the suggestion of Sir Arthur Cunningham Lothian and with

the 'demi-official' approval of the India Office, in 1937 when the Government of India Act, 1935, came into operation.

The Indian Political Service consisted of officers taken on deputation from various existing services but mostly from the Indian Civil Service and the Indian army. Once admitted to the service, the officer continued in it until retirement. In 1947, the sanctioned strength of this service was 170 but those actually serving were 124 in number of which only seventeen were Indians. This service provided the diplomatic and consular representatives of the Government of India to princely states. Its members were appointed to administrative posts in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. Besides, its members manned the secretariat at the headquarters of the Government of India operating directly under the charge of the viceroy, this secretariat being separate from the Imperial Secretariat.

Goen, Terence Creach: *The Indian Political Service: A Study in Indirect Rule*, New Delhi, Allied, 1971.

Indian Public Administration Association

The Indian Institute of Public Administration was expected to be a forum for professional pursuits of both practitioners and teachers of public administration. But its functioning was increasingly disillusioning the teachers of the subject. One must here remember that public administration itself was a new academic area of learning in India, which demanded special nursing. Dissatisfied with the manner of functioning of the institute, teachers of this discipline—they were all first-generation teachers—were, as a result, getting alienated from it. Nor were they looking to the already existing Indian Political Science Association for leadership, the body being mired in low-level politics. The IPAA originated when V.K.N. Menon, who retired as Director of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, took the initiative, mobilised the existing faculty of the subject in the Indian universities and convened the first informal meeting of professors of public administration, at the Indian Institute of Public Administration. The year was 1965. The author was then the juniormost teacher, a newly appointed reader in the subject in IIPA and acted as some kind of an errand boy to facilitate the convening of meetings. Meetings were held occasionally and then it was decided to formalise the body. It was given the name Indian Public Administration Association and was registered.

The responsibility was given to Ziauddin Khan of the University of Rajasthan. The year was 1966.

The Indian Public Administration Association used to meet once in a year and discuss academic topics. Papers and outcomes of the discussion used to be published also, thus paving the way for a wider circulation of its activities. The decision-making was by consensus and electoral politics was religiously discouraged and spurned. The idealism and dynamism of these first-generation teachers led by the dean of Public Administration, V.K.N. Menon, illumined the association. The unflinching view of the leadership was not to reproduce the culture of the existing Indian Political Science Association, a body which was becoming less and less relevant. The Indian Public Administration Association was shaping well as an academic forum to promote and nurture the discipline.

In 1986, the IPAA met at Patna, the host being the AN Post-Graduate College, affiliated to Magadh University. It was here that some highly ambitious teachers not of public administration and of dubious reputation crept into the Indian Public Administration Association. Well versed in low-level politicking as they were, they quickly managed a 'coup' of sorts and 'captured' the association. Since, then the IPAA is controlled by a new set of persons with hardly any mentionable commitment or even record of professional contribution.

Indo-Tibetan Border Police

Established in 1962, the Indo-Tibetan Border Police guards India's border with Tibet.

Induction

The act or instance of reasoning from facts to general principles.

Industrial Revolution

Refers to the unprecedent phenomenon which caused the rapid transition from an agricultural society to an industrial one, in Great Britain in the mid-eighteenth century and spread to other parts of the world within the next two hundred years. It started with the use of coal as a fuel in the steam engine and in the iron industry.

Informal Organisation

A formal organisation is articulated in organisation charts and manuals. In contrast an informal organisation has no written constitution of its own. It, on the other hand, is based on understandings, conventions, norms, etc., which actually govern human behaviour and conduct in organisations. Informal organisation refers to patterns of actual behaviour in

contrast to formally prescribed conduct. An informal organisation is an inevitable one for at least two reasons. First, the formal plan itself may be incomplete not providing for all conceivable situations. Secondly, formal rules and regulations may not entirely correspond with the sentiments and feelings of the people thus inducing them to violate them! In India, ordinarily, people obey the postal rule of not putting anything in an envelope other than letters/documents, etc. But during Raksha Bandhan, which falls around July-August every year, people do put *rakhis* in the envelopes, which get delivered as if nothing 'wrong' has been committed! On Bhaiya Dooj, working girls reach their office late but this late coming is accepted in the society. The lunch break in government offices always exceeds the allotted thirty minutes and may in practice take even more than an hour, which is an accepted practice and nobody raises an eyebrow. An informal organisation is not necessarily hostile to formal organisation. Rather, it greases the formal organisation thus enabling it to function.

Informal organisation imparts completeness to the formal plan. But the formal plan may prescribe a certain type of behaviour which may not be followed in practice being too elaborate or too impracticable. The formally prescribed behaviour is thus contradicted by the actual pattern of behaviour. Non-compliance with formal arrangements is the experience in almost every organisation. This only shows the potency of informal organisation.

When formal rules and procedures are set aside and overruled by informal practices, a question arises why the formal rules ought not to be amended? This question was examined by India's Llewellyn Smith Committee (1919) which advocated the amendment of the formal procedure: 'Departments frequently resort to informal devices to escape from the bondage of their own procedure in cases of importance and urgency.' The committee advocated the reform of the formal procedure to eliminate excessive resort to informal devices.

Informal Sector

Informal sector refers to the unorganised sector, which plays an important role in the economy of the developing countries, occupying a large part of the economic space. It is estimated that ninety per cent of India's labour is engaged in unorganised activities. It is also estimated that the country's informal sector accounts for one-third of the country's output.

The term 'informal sector' though in use for sometime lacks a precise meaning and definition. Its broad connotations are well

understood. Informal sector is an empirical concept. It may be said to refer to that sector in which people work without formal employment contracts and in unregistered enterprises.

Information Technology

Also called IT by its abbreviated term, information technology is the science and activity of storing and sending out information by using computers. *Reader's Universal Dictionary* defines information technology as 'the technology used in information-science'. The same source defines information science as 'the science concerned with gathering, classifying, storing, retrieving, manipulating and evaluating information especially by means of computers (which is technology). Information science is also called "informatics".'

Information technology has a long history but interest in it began consciously and seriously in India from the nineties when the country adopted the policy of economic liberalisation and free-market economy. Information technology is an invention of our own times but it has made incredibly rapid strides in a short time —so much so that today, we find ourselves confronted with the third generation of information technology. The first generation of information technology is characterised by straightforward data processing. The second generation is marked by automated decision-making. The second generation popularised the term 'telecommunications' leading to the advent, in India, of an information super highway which can be accessed by telephone, personal computer, television, etc. The third generation of information technology is symbolised by the mobile telecom age with satellite and wireless towers as the new technology. Fax, E-mail, internet has become a common expression all over the world including India. The present scenario sees the advent of cable television, PCOs, internet cafes, software technology park, etc. Though information technology has entered public administration's vocabulary only recently it is bound to be much more powerful and overwhelming than even the Industrial Revolution. IT is destined to become the language of the future and according to many is another name even for good governance. We are truly in an age of information explosion.

India's acquaintance with information technology is a recent one but it has already made inroads in many sectors of administration, particularly in areas like communication, education, employment, public health, criminal justice administration, environment protection, municipal

administration, urban development, electricity. A part of modernisation, it is already applied in land records, driving licences, sales tax, the treasury, etc. The list is expanding rapidly with new areas of activity being brought within the ambit of information technology. It is being increasingly perceived as the new god who can solve all temporal problems!

A topic of tremendous importance to public administration is the question of its impact on its structure and processes. A few indicators of the shape of things to come are briefly identified here. Primarily because of its storing and retrieving capability, information technology makes possible the realisation of the dream of a paperless, fileless office. Organisations of the future are likely to become flatter and less hierarchical. The increasing application of IT would lead to flattening of organisations and downsizing of the bureaucracy. It is the best way of pruning the bureaucratic numbers. These are among the major benefits accruing to the society from the information technology revolution.

Every new development leaves its impact on society, part of which may have a negative impact. Information technology begets its own problems. This technological development has given birth to new sets of problems, called cyber crimes. Great Britain has established a special organisation to pursue this category of offences. India too will have to follow suit, sooner or later, as such crimes are too specialised in nature and demands specialised skills on the part of the investigating personnel. The information society towards which India is fast heading will not leave the hegemony of the generalist administration in Indian administration unchallenged. Indian administration needs structural changes even without the advent of the communication revolution but the latter has made it a crying need of the day. The harbinger of progress, which the specialist undoubtedly is, has to be properly rehabilitated in the country's administrative hierarchy. His ascendancy in short is inevitable. Yet another problem is likely to mark the arrival of the information age. With the feared shrivelling of middle-management levels in organisation, the top management may get released from the latter's moderating influence, which has to be guarded against. Information technology is bound to have a profound impact on the country's public administration. A beginning in this direction has already been made but the 'future shock' is yet to be felt.

Inner Line

An officially demarcated border in old Assam which prohibited outsiders from entering and settling in areas inhabited by tribes of north-eastern India. The Inner Line preserved the integrity, purity and exclusiveness of the north-eastern tribes. The concept of the Inner Line is operative in other parts of India, too. A functionally equivalent provision operates in Jammu and Kashmir where no outsider even if he is an Indian citizen can buy property.

Integrity in the Civil Society

India's single greatest impediment to good governance is the low integrity of personnel in public administration. The predecessor of the present-day Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Civil Service, enjoyed the rare reputation of being incorruptible—indeed, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. The same cannot be claimed for the present-day civil service. Corruption seems to be widespread. Indeed, contemporary India's single greatest shame is corruption, which has become blatant and pervasive, leaving no sector or level untouched and uncontaminated. Therefore, the single greatest measure of reform would be the weeding out of corruption in the country's civil service. India needs a 'zero-tolerance-to-corruption' plan. India must enforce a charter of ethics for its civil servants in a bid to promote integrity, accountability, transparency, customer-friendliness and responsiveness. Ethical and moral standards must be asserted at all levels and sectors but most importantly at the top. This is not asking for the moon. India had such noble leaders during the national struggle for freedom and in the early years of the Republic, which proves that it is not a Utopian dream. Corruption is not exclusive to the career bureaucracy alone.

There must be a campaign to cleanse the entire society. Indeed, what India needs is moral rearmament. According to N. Vittal, the central vigilance commissioner, five main players of corruption in India are—the *neta* (political leadership), the *babu* (bureaucracy), the *lala* (businessman), the *jhola* (the NGOs), and the *dada* (musclemen, criminal). As he has warned: 'It is necessary to check the supply side of corruption before we tighten the noose around the reçipients' neck'.[1] What is greatly compounding the problem is its growing social acceptability. Corruption in public administration is touching new depths but it is no longer stirring the social conscience. This is largely because the corrupt are not visited with visible punishment. Punishment to the corrupt

must be fast, harsh and exemplary. In 1996, the U.P. IAS Association started a campaign to cleanse its cadre of corruption and the crusade began with much fanfare. It proposed a secret ballot to identify the three most corrupt officers in its cadre. The association soon developed cold feet and is no longer enthused by the idea. A determination to combat corruption demands a package of reform, all receiving top priority. Institutions of lokpal and lokayuktas must be set up, and all political offices including the offices of the prime minister and the chief ministers must be brought within the purview of the lokpal. Procedures and rules should be laid down relating to purchase, award of contracts, etc., in government and public undertakings. Discretionary powers of governmental authorities, both political and career, must be codified. All elected representatives including ministers and members of parliament and state legislatures must make an annual declaration of assets. India could think of introducing another reform measure by legalising 'whistle-blowing' by civil servants. Whistle-blowing is permitted in the United States and Australia as a definite measure to promote integrity and independence of the civil service. It can be effective only where sound personnel practices are observed. If a civil servant wishes to divulge information on any dubious activities, his getting transferred at that point would invalidate this procedure. Whistle-blowing is allowed in a few countries of the world. Sweden is armed with the Fundamental Law on Freedom of Expression. Australia has the Whistle-blowers' Protection Act. The United States has on its statute the Whistle-blower Protection Act, 1989, to protect its civil servants; the United States has a larger piece of legislation too, namely the Civil Service Reform Act, 1978.

[1]*Asian Age*, 15 April 2000.

Intellectual Property Right

Intellectual property is a legal term, referring to property that results from original creative thought, as patents, copyright material, and trademarks. Intellectual property is property which does not have a tangible form but represents the product of creative work or invention. The concern for protection of intellectual property right has been institutionalised so to say since the later part of the nineteenth century. Set up in 1974, the WIPO is one of the sixteen specialised agencies of the United Nations.

Intellectual property deals with the ownership of knowledge and

know-how. Intellectual property has the following components:

1. Patent right;
2. Copyright;
3. Trade and service mark;
4. Tangible research property; and
5. Mark for integrated circuits and semi-conductors.

Among tangible research property would fall computer software, micro-circuit chips, engineering prototypes, engineering drawings, biological and chemical products.

Intellectual property is protected by the World Trade Organisation established by the Uruguay Conference.

Intelligence Branch (or Bureau)

The Intelligence Branch (IB) in India dates back to the days of colonial rule and is the oldest intelligence agency in the modern world. It was set up on 23 December 1887, under the name of Central Intelligence Branch. Its charter included gathering political intelligence and keeping a watchful control on the inter- provincial activities of criminals. Following the Police Commission Report of 1902–3, the Central Intelligence Branch was renamed as the Central Criminal Intelligence Department and became the key intelligence arm of the Government of India. In the year 1918, the word 'criminal' was dropped because by this time the intelligence activities had come to predominate. The nomenclature 'Intelligence Bureau' was adopted in 1920. After independence the Intelligence Bureau was given responsibility for gathering foreign intelligence.

Internal Audit

Audit conducted by the in-house auditor for the purpose of providing higher management with assurance regarding the working of internal systems and the adequacy of existing mechanisms of accountability and control.

Internal Emergency

Though Indira Gandhi's Congress won a resounding victory in the 1971 general election its legitimacy was soon eroded. In June 1975, the Allahabad High Court convicted Indira Gandhi of electoral malpractices, disqualifying her from holding public office for six years. She obtained a court stay of the sentence, which allowed her to continue in office until the elections but could not vote in Parliament. People wanted her eviction from power and intensified agitation against her continuance in power. On the advice of the prime minister, the president declared a state of emergency two weeks after the court's verdict. The government during the internal emergency acquired draconian power. The emergency

was lifted in 1977 and fresh elections were announced in which she lost power. The internal emergency lasted for nearly twenty-one months.

Under the emergency, opposition leaders were arrested; the freedom of the press was severely suppressed and even the Constitution was amended to secure a 'committed' judiciary.

International Civil Service Commission

The International Civil Service Commission was established by the United Nations in 1972 and performs an advisory role. It makes recommendations to the General Assembly for the regulation and coordination of conditions of service of personnel within the United Nations system. Also, it exercises certain decision-making functions with respect to salaries, allowances and job classifications standards. It is a fifteen-member body with the chairman and vice-chairman serving in a full-time capacity. The members are appointed for a term of four years.

International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia

Taking inspiration mainly from the Nuremberg trial of former public officials under Hitler's Germany, the U.N. Security Council established in 1993 an international tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for violations of international humanitarian law committed in former Yugoslavia since 1991. Eleven judges drawn from different countries of America, Europe and Asia are members of the International Tribunal. There is a prosecutor who acts independently as a separate organ of the tribunal.

International Institute of Administrative Sciences

The International Institute of Administrative Sciences was set up in 1930 at Brussels to study and improve public administration around the world. It is a non-governmental organisation, its members being from over 100 states including international organisations drawn from all the regions of the world. It undertakes researches and consultancy assignments. It brings out a quarterly journal called the *International Review of Administrative Sciences.* It holds international and regional conferences and seminars.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are sister organisations, both established by the Bretton Woods International Monetary Conference of

1944. The International Monetary Fund came into operation in 1946. About 180 countries are its members today. The main purposes of the IMF are to:

1. Promote international monetary cooperation through consultation and collaboration.
2. Facilitate the expansion and balanced growth of international trade.
3. Promote exchange stability and orderly exchange arrangements; and
4. Assist in the establishment of a multi-lateral system of payments, and the elimination of foreign exchange restrictions.

IMF is so called because it is essentially a fund. Each member-nation is assigned a quota, the size of which is fixed in relation to the importance of the country in international trade. The largest quotas are held by five countries —the U.S.A., Japan, Germany, France and the U.K.. These five countries account for 43 per cent of the IMF's total finance. They thus control the fund's operations. The IMF's original purpose was to maintain international monetary stability and cooperation and stable exchange rates between the member countries. The fund provides short-time monetary assistance to a country in temporary balance of payment difficulty while the World Bank gives long-term development loans for the development of economies. The financial resources of the fund come from the contributions from its members.

Intrusion

The differential exclusion of a part of the population, called pariah entrepreneurs, from acquiring wealth by paying officials for entrance into the market.

Involuntary Retirement

Retirement upon dismissal after completing a minimum years of service but before attaining superannuation age.

Iron Law of Oligarchy

Iron law of oligarchy argues that democracy is impossible in an organisation, even in ostensibly democratic organisations like socialist parties. It, thus, believes in the inevitability of elite rule whatever be the formally prescribed organisational outfit. Democracies are not controlled by the people; this is but a facade by a small ruling class that becomes remote from the rank-and-file. The iron law of oligarchy was first propounded by Robert Michels (1876–1936) in his celebrated work *Political Parties* (1911). 'Who says organisation, say oligarchy', asserts Robert Michels.

J

Jagir

A royal grant of land and its rental. This practice prevailed during the period of Mughal rule.

Jagirdar

Holder of a jagir.

Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front

A local militant group fighting for Kashmir's 'independence' from India.

Jana Sangh

The Hindu nationalist party founded in 1951 by Shyama Prasad Mukherji. It merged with the Janata Party in 1977 but with the split in the latter in 1979 it remerged as the Bharatiya Janata Party.

Janata Dal

The Janata Dal was established in the late eighties as a result of the merger of the Jan Morcha, the Janata Party, factions of the Lok Dal and a Congress splinter known as the Congress (S). The Janata Dal split in November 1990 with Chandra Shekhar leading a new Janata Dal (Socialist).

Janata Party

Founded as a result of the merger of a wide variety of opposition parties to fight the election of 1977 to oust Indira Gandhi. It formed the government in 1977–79, later merged with the Jan Morcha and other parties to form the Janata Dal.

Jati

Sub-caste which defines the socially acceptable interactions in marriages and caste-related practices.

Jawan

Used for soldiers in the army. Literally, a youth.

Job Classification

There are two well-known systems of job classification in the world: (i) duties or position classification (ii) rank classification.

Position classification is a system of organising government jobs into managerial and career categories. It is a convenient inventory of everything that government personnel do. A modern government employs a large number of functionaries. India, for instance, has on its payroll

nearly four million persons. The federal government in the U.S.A. has 2.9 million employees. Clustering of employees becomes inevitable when the number involved are so large. Glenn Stahi defines position classification as 'the organising of all jobs in an enterprise into groups or classes on the basis of their duties, responsibilities and qualification requirements'. He goes on to observe 'the subject is work performed or to be performed, the process is analysis and evaluation and the result is classification or arranging of work unit into classes'. Position classification involves four broad steps. The government jobs are clustered according to,

1. their nature,
2. qualifications required,
3. duties performed; and
4. responsibilities assumed.

Its greatest advantage lies in its promise to provide equal pay for equal work.

The rank classification is based on the rank and personal status of the incumbent rather than the precise duties. In India, a person is recruited to a particular service like the IAS, IPS, etc. Also, the civil service is vertically classified into four classes (or groups). The classes correspond to differences in the responsibility of the work performed and the qualifications required. Rank classification is a system of designing jobs, organising them into a useful managerial and career categories establishing their rates of pay. Rank is vested in the individual, not in the position; hence called 'rank-in-the man'. In duties classification, the ranks rest in the position; hence called 'rank-in-the-job'. It obtains in the U.S.A., the Philippines, South Korea, etc.

The rank-in-the-man system of classification ensures original recruitment of persons of broad general competence for advancement in lifetime careers; rather than recruitment of persons of specific competence to fill immediate vacancies. Secondly, it puts less emphasis on specialised experience or the service. Thirdly, it facilitates systematic training for higher responsibilities. Fourthly, it relies on the ability of administrators to assign personnel to a wide variety of posts of higher or lower status than normally required by the personnel rank of the members, without change in the rank or compensation. Fifthly, it assumes agreement by the members to accept any type of assignment in any location. Finally, yet another advantage of the 'rank-in-the-man' type of classification lies in its careful screening for the promotion and often 'selection out' for those who fail to get promotion.

To put it differently, the advantages of the rank-in-the-man

system of classification can be put in simplified language as follows:

1. It is easy to understand and administer.
2. As the rank inheres in man it provides greater security of job to the individual.
3. It lays emphasis on the career opportunities of individual civil servants.
4. It attracts competent and promising candidates to the public services.

Its disadvantages are the following:

1. It violates the principle of equal pay for equal work.
2. It does not define the contents of a job in detail.
3. Recruitment is not based on scientific standards.

The duties (or position) classification claims two advantages. Under it the recruitment is based on standardised tests which makes it scientific. Secondly, it promotes morale among employees by providing equal treatment.

Duties classification obtains in the U.S.A. Its federal civil services has a General Schedule involving GS 1 to GS 18 steps, with the pay at the highest level being ten times greater than at the lowest level. As the second Hoover Commission describes it, 'The civil service system emphasises positions, not people. Jobs are classified, rated and their compensation determined on the bland assumption that they can always be filled like so many jugs, merely by turning the tap'.

Job Enlargement

Job enlargement is the expanding of a job to include additional responsibilities. This in turn necessitates training and the acquisition of new skills. The concept owes its origin to Frederick Herzberg.

Job Enrichment

The concept was coined by Frederick Herzberg. Job enrichment is the desired result of job restructuring in which various aspects of a job or its component tasks are changed or rearranged in order to strengthen employee motivation and job satisfaction. It is enhancing work by motivational devices which satisfy employees' aspirations in non-financial terms.

Johari Window

So named because the concept of the Johari Window was first developed by two psychologists namely Joseph Luft and Harry Ingham. 'Johari' was coined from the names of the creators of the concept.

The Johari Window is a schematic model for studying interpersonal awareness. This window comprises four parts: arena, blindspot, closed, and dark, as is shown in the following:

Known to me	Unknown to me
Arena Shared: known to both me and others	*Blindspot* Information, feelings known to others, but not me
Closed Hidden information	*Dark* Undiscovered potential and creative reservoir not known to the self and to others

'Arena' is known to the individual as well as to others and is thus the arena of interaction and exchange. The larger the area of arena, the greater the change of interpersonal relationships, which in return raises the level of mutual trust and influence. 'Closed' area is of private self, which is bound to shrink if the arena expands: it becomes less necessary to conceal or hide if the arena is larger. The blindspot takes longer to reduce and with which are involved self-concept protection mechanisms. Feedback can reduce blindspot. Dark area is totally unexplored by psychology but is not known to the self and to others.

John Company

An old name of the East India Company. The East India Company was personified under the title of Kampany Jehan, which in English mouths became, 'John Company'.

Judicial Activism

The Supreme Court of India and the high courts are law-bound to enforce the fundamental rights and to issue writs in the nature of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari, whichever may be appropriate for the enforcement of fundamental rights or for any other purpose. These are constitutional provisions. In the widely acclaimed case 'People's Union for Democratic Rights vs. UOI', 1982(3) SCC 235, the Supreme Court had spelled out its concept of public interest activism. It held:

> ... Public interest litigation, as we conceive it, is essentially cooperative or collaborative effort on the part of the petitioner, the State or public authority and the court to secure observance of the constitutional or legal rights, benefits and privileges conferred upon the vulnerable sections of the community and to reach social justice to them. The state or public authority against whom public interest litigation is brought should be as much interested in ensuring basic human rights, constitutional as well as legal, to those who are in a socially and economically disadvantaged position, as the petitioner who brings the

public interest litigation before the court. The State or public authority which is arrayed as a respondent in public interest litigation should, in fact, welcome it, as it would give it an opportunity to right a wrong or to redress an injustice done to the poor and weaker sections of the community whose welfare is and must be the prime concern of the state or the public authority.

In a subsequent observation in 1991 the apex court observed: 'A person invoking the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court under Article 32 must approach the court for vindication of his personal grudge or enmity.' It thus, follows that in India the Supreme Court and the high courts are vested with the power to redress in case there is a breach of fundamental rights and for any other purpose. One must remember that the judiciary must ensure the rule of law. Where the executive authorities have shirked their duty and turned a blind eye to wanton acts of political corruption and loot by politicians, the judiciary has to act to enforce the rule of law.

Judicial activism has been subjected to various criticisms. First, it has been said that judiciary gets emboldened to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the executive, the legislature and other institutions. This is not correct. The judiciary directs the executive to perform certain things or refrain from doing certain things such as the executive is duty-bound under the law to either perform or refrain from performing. In other words, the judiciary has a duty to compel the executive to discharge its responsibility. Secondly, it is said that under the cover of judicial activism the judiciary enters an area where it lacks expertise and competence to regulate an affair. This, again, is a merely theoretical criticism. The judiciary has intervened when it finds itself compelled to act for reasons of law. The judiciary has intervened in cases when things have gone too wrong and authorities deliberately cover up their wrongs in the name of confidentiality, safety, security, etc. Equally true is that the courts have acted with circumspection. The third criticism levelled is that courts are overstretching themselves and indulging in activism at the expense of their normal adjudicatory work. This, thus, leads to further piling up of cases in the courts. This is not true. Not all courts are seized with such work. Moreover, even those engaged in activist roles do not spend all their time on this kind of work. Lastly, it is also contended that the judiciary may

lose credibility if its directions given in such cases do not get carried out. One must know that the judiciary intervenes only when it must, leaving implementation to them, remaining content with calling for periodic reports. It is empowered to punish non-compliance by invoking its contempt of court powers.

It is a known fact that in a growingly populist democracy of ours, an elected government is seen to drag its feet in many matters being afraid of losing voters even when bold action is socially desirable and necessary. The judiciary has no vote-bank and thus, can compel action for the benefit of the larger society. Indeed, judicial activism has fostered a benign image of the country's highest judiciary: the image of a saviour when most institutions of the state like the executive, the legislative and other autonomous bodies have crumbled and stopping functioning.

At the same time, a possible danger must be avoided. The judiciary must not allow itself to be carried away by its own momentum. As such, the courts must act with circumspection, even keeping in mind the cardinal truth that under the Indian Constitution the judiciary carries the last word.

Judicial Review

Judicial review refers to the power of law courts to determine the constitutionality of acts of other branches of government. It is in operation in the U.S.A. and India. Indeed, judicial review is firmly established in the U.S.A., clothed as it is with a written constitution and a federal polity. In India, the concept of judicial review has been best expounded by the Supreme Court in the famous case of Kesavananda Bharati vs. State of Kerala. Unlike the U.S. Constitution which expressly vests the judicial power in the Supreme Court, the Constitution of India refers to judicial review in Article 13 and Article 32. Article 13 of the Constitution of India says: 'All laws in force in the territory of India immediately before the commencement of this Constitution insofar as they are inconsistent with the provisions of this part, shall to the extent of such inconsistency be void'. Article 32 provides: 'the right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement, of the (fundamental) rights ... in guaranteed Article 226 of the Constitution is much more comprehensive conferring on the different high courts the power to enforce any of the rights conferred by Part III and for any other purpose.'

One may note that the Supreme Court can declare as unconstitutional and null and void

the laws made by the state or central legislature if these take away or abridge the fundamental rights enshrined in Part III of the Constitution. But the high courts' sweep is larger. Under Article 226, the high courts have the power to strike down laws contravening not only the provisions of that part but also for any other purpose. In short, the high courts' power of judicial review extends not only to fundamental rights but also to the rest of the Constitution.

The doctrine of judicial review was raised to the pinnacle of glory in the Kesavananda Bharati vs. Government of Kerala. The Supreme Court in that historic judgment held that while the amending power under Article 368 is comprehensive enough to cover the amendment of any part of the Constitution including the fundamental rights, the amending power cannot be exercised so as to destroy those features in the Constitution which constitute its basic structure. The Supreme Court held: 'Article 368 does not enable Parliament to alter the basic structure or framework of the Constitution.' In the beginning, the doctrine of judicial review was not mentioned as one of the basic features of the Constitution. It was in the Minerva Mills vs. Union of India (1980) that the right to judicial review is explicity recognised as one of the basic features of the Constitution.

The Constitution of India, thus, empowers the judiciary to review all legislations whether central, state or delegated to determine their constitutionality. The purpose of the judicial review is to determine the validity of all laws according to the Constitution. This infers, in the ultimate analysis that what the Constitution of India means rests with the Supreme Court of India. Even the amendments to the Constitution are subject to judicial review. In Great Britain, the judiciary has no power to review the laws made by parliament while such a provision exists in the U.S.A. The U.S. Supreme Court possesses the power of judicial review.

Jumma

Total assessment for land revenue. The term used during the Mughal rule in India is derived from Arabic, signifying aggregate.

K

Kangaroo

A colloquial term in vogue in Great Britain, but not in India. Kangaroo refers to the method of allowing the speaker of the House of Commons to decide which clauses of a bill should be discussed and which leaped over. Kangaroo refers to the process of selecting items because it involves 'jumping' over certain items on the order paper so that the limited time is used to best advantage.

Kangaroo Court

A mock court set up to deliver a judgment arrived at in advance, the motivation being to punish a disloyal cohort. The kangaroo court is illegal and lacks legitimacy.

Kanungo

An officer of government (or registrar) posted in the district. Kanungo is a field functionary and is a first-line supervisor in the revenue hierarchy of the state government. Kanungoes are of three types.

Karnam

A village accountant in Tamil Nadu whose equivalent is called 'patel' in Maharashtra.

Kasba or Cosba

The head village of a taluk or pargana.

Katcherry

An office during the Mughal times.

Kautilyan Buraucracy

Max Weber believed that the rational-legal base of authority or bureaucracy could emerge only under a market and monetary economy and thus, did not exist under the pre-capitalist mode of production (which Weber called the Asiatic mode of production). Yet, the fact is that Kautilyan bureaucracy showed the traits of Weberian bureaucracy such as hierarchy, division of labour, rules and regulations, career orientation even though the economy was predominantly barter and exchange based and was only partly monetary. In other words, Kautilyan bureaucracy was in Weber's analysis patrimonial or prebendal.

Key Money

Key money according to Fred Riggs is a rate-gift to the seller. It is a supplementary gift from the buyer to the seller.

Khalsa

Crown villages; government lands.

Khana Sumari

An annual enumeration of the houses, with the specification of the caste and profession of each householder, for the purpose of adjusting the dues of government. A term of Mughal usage.

Khas

Revenue collected immediately by government without the agency of zamindars.

Khas Land

Land whose ownership is vested in the government.

Kazi

A Muhammedan judge or justice who occasionally officiates as a public notary. The term is of Mughal origin.

Khidmatgar

Applied to a Muslim servant in a British officer's household whose duties are connected with serving meals and waiting at tables under the khansamha. In 1759, the wages of a khidmatgar were rupees three per month. This became rupees ten in the year 1888. It was common for the memsahib to pay rupees nine and levy small fines beginning with one pice for forgetfulness to one rupee for lying. The khidmatgar could get small rewards for good service and thus he could recover money lost in fines.

Khilat

The robe of honour conferred by the Mughal Emperor.

Khilat-Khana

The factory for the manufacture and storing of robes of honour.

Kickback

It is a form of corruption referring to the practice of illegal payment or returns to someone in exchange for secret help or for a job. A kickback is often found in governmental purchases and sales. A sales transaction is officially formalised in a document confirming the prescribed rate. But the kickback is a supplementary gift from the seller to the buyer.

Killadar

Warder of a castle; Commander of a fort.

Komisdars

Managers or renters of provinces.

Konkan Railway Corporation

Railways in India are departmentally run, the ministry responsible for its functioning is the Ministry of Railways. But some

organisational innovations have been tried in this sector, and one such innovation is the Konkan Railway Corporation. The Konkan Railway Corporation has constructed the 760 kilometre broad gauge railway route across Maharashtra, Goa, and Karnataka and runs railways and operates the route, which extends from Roha in Maharashtra to Mangalore in Karnataka. The Konkan Railway is the longest route constructed since independence. The route covers 56 railway stations.

Kotwal

A functionary of the Mughal period who was the custodian of law and order. Superintendent of police during the Mughal period of rule. Technically speaking, this functionary ceased to exist after 1862 when the Police Act of 1861 came into force introducing the new police system in India.

Kulkarni

The village accountant and writer in some central and western parts of India. Equivalent to despande, patel, patwari, karnam.

L

Lat Saheb

A term used during the colonial rule. It was a corruption of 'Lord Saheb', generally used by Indians to refer to the title by which the governor-general had long been known. Similarly, governor was known as 'chota Lat Saheb' and the commander-in-chief as the 'Jangi Lat Saheb'.

Laurence Peter's Law

A situation where the bureaucracy defends the status quo long after the quo has lost its status.

Laws in Public Administration

1. *Conway's Law*: In any organisation there will always be one person who knows what is going on.
2. *David's Dictum*: In any organisation, at any given time, people are never where they are supposed to be.
3. *Dillon's rule*: It holds that local governments possess only those powers expressly allocated to them by the states. A direct federal funding of local government circumvents this law.
4. *Laurence Peter's Law*: Bureaucracy defends the status quo long past the time the quo has lost its status.
5. *Maler's Law*: If the data do not fit the theory, they must be disposed of.
6. *Miles' Law*: Where you stand depends on where you sit.
7. *Murphy's Law*: If anything can go wrong, it will.
   Every solution breeds new problems.
8. *Parkinson's Law*: Work expands so as to fill the time available for its completion.
9. *Peter's Principle*: A person rises to the level of his incompetence.
10. *Sod's Law*: If something can go wrong, it will.
11. *Super's Law*: Any bureaucracy reorganised to enhance efficiency is immediately indistinguishable from its predecessor.
12. *Sttat's Law*: There is an exception to every rule, including of course, this one!
13. 'Supply of government aid creates its own demand'. 'Ineffective government programmes tend to drive out effective private ones'.

Lay-off

The dictionary meaning of lay-off is 'the act of dismissing employees, esp. temporarily', 'a period of enforced unemployment or inactivity', 'the act of discharging or firing workmen or employees'. Lay-off is an involuntary dismissal of employees because of financial difficulty or business necessity. It may be temporary or permanent. When prompted by financial difficulties, the employees may be assured that they will be called back to work when the situation improves. Or, an employee may be asked to stay home one day every week or one week every month. Lay-off of employees as a result of organisational restructuring is almost always permanent.

The lay-off procedure in the public sector is highly complex, protracted and frustrating; there is a demand to make it flexible and practical.

Leader of the House

A member of the government appointed by the prime minister to control the arrangement of business in the Lok Sabha. Generally, the prime minister himself is the leader of the house. However, if the prime minister is not a member of Lok Sabha, he nominates another minister who is a member, as the leader of the house. The leader of the house is an important parliamentary functionary, maintaining the liaison between the government and opposition groups in the Lok Sabha. He is equally the guardian of the legitimate rights of the opposition and those of the government.

Leader of Opposition

The office of leader of opposition is recognised under the Rules of the House and is the leader of the largest minority party in the house. The Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha has each a leader of opposition.

Leadership in Administration

The human society is presently confronted with baffling problems. Problems of drugs, toxic waste, AIDS, depletion of the ozone layer, etc. are some of them. These are clamouring for solutions but solutions can only come from effective leadership, that is from those who are willing to summon the nation's forces, marshal resources, motivate people to achieve group goals, etc. The leaders must be intelligent and capable who can inspire and bolster confidence.

It is nonsense to believe that leaders are born and not made. Leadership skills are learnt, not inherited. Can leaders influence events? Not necessarily. Leaders function in a historical context, which means that at work there

are different forces that can ensure success or forestall the desired result. There is a view that a leader is endowed with certain innate qualities which would lead him to success in any context. This is a wrong view. The traits which can acomplish desired results in one situation may spell failure in another situation. Other misconceptions too presently cloud leadership. The view that leaders are in full charge of an organisation in which they operate is also not true. Leaders are never so much in charge as they appear to be. Similarly, the relationship between the followers and the leader is reciprocal: they influence each other equally. In the words of John W. Gardner, the famous author of *On Leadership* (The Free Press, 1990): 'In a sense, leadership is conferred' and 'good constituents tend to produce good leaders'. Similarly, the view that leaders are persons draped with status, official authority and power is not true. As Gardner remarks, 'the thug who sticks a gun in your ribs has power but this action does not suggest an ability to lead. Nor, is it true that leadership flows from status. There are some top executives both in government and in industry 'who could not lead a squad of seven-year-olds to the ice-cream counter'.[1] Nor, does leadership flow from official authority.

John W. Gardner defines leadership as 'the process of persuasion or example by which an individual (or leadership team) induces a group to pursue objectives held by the leader or shared by the leader and his or her followers.' Today, we are living in a world of institutionalised systems, which means that the leadership must necessarily involve team effort. The leadership should be a team of superior performers. The tasks of the leader are the following according to Gardner:

1. envisioning and setting group goals;
2. motivating followers to pursue the shared objectives;
3. affirming values and regenerating those who are decaying;
4. managing;
5. achieving unity in a pluralistic environment;
6. maintaining a high level of trust in the group;
7. explaining;
8. serving as a symbol;
9. representing the group in its dealings with outside organisations;
10. promoting the process of renewal.

The traitist theory of leadership is to ascribe certain traits to the leader. Leadership refers to a bunch of attributes or traits such as the capacity to define the vision, the commitment to success, the ability to inspire others, to

build relationships, to be open to new ideas, to experiment, to communicate and delegate—these are lent a few of the essential qualities of leaders according to Bain and Mabey (1999). According to another view, the traits are:

1. Physical vitality and stamina;
2. intelligence and judgment-in-action;
3. willingness to accept responsibility;
4. task competence;
5. understanding of followers and their needs;
6. skill in dealing with people;
7. need to achieve;
8. capacity to motivate;
9. courage, resolution, steadiness;
10. capacity to win and hold trust;
11. capacity to manage, decide, set priorities;
12. confidence;
13. ascendance, dominance, assertiveness;
14. adoptability;
15. flexibility of approach.[2]

Today's society is becoming increasingly pluralistic. As such, leaders do not have one constituency but several. Each constituency is suspicious of the other and each is pressing hard to further its own interests. A successful leader is called upon to reconcile the conflicting demands of the pluralistic society.

To nurture leadership qualities efforts must begin in the childhood stage. Group activities must be encouraged at an early age. The need for specialisation is conceded and is considered necessary to the functioning of a social organisation. No less necessary is versatility that comes from a broad education. Indeed, the best preparation for leadership is a liberal arts education (as recommended by Macaulay) embracing the sciences, social sciences, fine arts and literature: these provide the understanding of culture essential to the budding leader. A leader must refine his communication skills.

The most effective setting for leadership development is the workplace where the pressures and problems of organisational life are directly felt. People have learnt teamwork and skills of resolving interpersonal problems.

[1]Gardner, John W.: *On Leadership*, New York, The Free Press, 1990, p. 21.

[2]*Ibid.*, pp. 48–53.

Level Jumping

A way of quickening the pace of decision-making in the secretariat recommended in India. Level jumping is prevalent at the middle- and top-level management. An officer may, for example, send the file directly to a level two steps above him, thus

skipping the one above. But the return journey of the file follows the usual hierarchical path, thus keeping the boss duly informed.

Level jumping is thus, a procedural device designed to ensure quicker disposal of work in public administration. It bypasses rungs in the hierarchy and thus is related to Henri Fayol's 'gang plank'. In 1968, the Administrative Reforms Commission recommended that there should be only two levels of consideration and decision below the minister.

Level Playing Field

The term refers to competing on an equal footing. It is a state of equality, of equal opportunities. It is being increasingly demanded by Indian industrialists since the adoption from the 1990s of the policy of economic liberalisation, globalisation and free-market economy. It articulates a situation in which competition between producers will be fair to all. It likens competition to a game which, in order to be fair, must be played on a level surface. The demand for equal opportunity is gaining momentum in the third world and has generally come from those quarters disadvantaged by international competition. Although the world is committed to a policy of economic liberalisation, all countries do observe practices which are discriminatory, thus making out a case for retaliatory action to make the playing field level.

The concept is an assurance of fairness. The field should be level in order to be fair. The term has caught on in the wake of the economic liberalisation policy adopted in India since the 1990s under which multinational corporations from the industrialised West entered India in a big way. However, there are complaints that one set of regulations, apparently more favourable, applies to foreign companies coming to India while another set applies to the indigenous ones, which is a discriminatory practice.

How level is the level playing field? It is difficult to find out. Take, for instance, the recently concluded General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) under which business should be free and barriers to this end removed. A country should be free to compete in another's market. The 'level playing field' concept assumes that all players are equal so that equals may be fielded against equals. Unfortunately, such a situation does not obtain in the modern world. The world is uneven industrially and otherwise. Third world countries lack the capacities and resources to be able to compete with the leviathans of the West on an equal footing. Unbridled entry of the western

organisations into India, therefore, would surely throttle Indian industries and businesses.

Lewin, Kurt (1890–1947)

A German psychologist who migrated to the U.S.A. in the 1930s. A student of social psychology, he was a pioneer in group dynamics. He is a well-known figure in the human relations school of management.

Kurt Lewin made pioneering contributions to group dynamics, action research, field theory and sensitivity theory. He was deeply interested in the psychology of groups and group dynamics. Kurt Lewin always believed that for knowledge to be useful to the society, it should be applied. This is why Lewin is often called the 'practical theorist'. He has greatly influenced the organisation theory and public administration literature.

Likert Rensis

He is an American psychologist who has made notable contributions in the field of management and organisational theory. He is particularly associated with concepts like human asset accounting, the linking-pin management structure, the Likert Scale and System 4. The Likert Scale is widely used in attitude studies.

Line and Staff

An organisation inevitably performs two categories of functions. It carries out functions that contribute directly and substantially to the fulfilment of the organisational goals. This is line function. In order to carry out line functions, the organisation is called upon to fulfil some other tasks. The latter are the staff functions.

It is convenient to think of line and staff as 'programme' function and 'sustaining' function respectively. The chief executive controls the organisation by means of both the vertical programme channels and horizontal sustaining channels.

A recent development in the line and staff concepts may be briefly indicated here. These two are no longer distinguishable as indicators of power status. The staff does carry out functions of command. Nor, is a staff activity a restricted, specialised function vis-a-vis a line activity. Finally, a staff function is involved into both the sets of activities: it has to do with *how* things are done as well as *what* is done: indeed, more to do with *how* than *what*.

Confusion prevails over the appropriate criteria for distinguishing one from the other. Some have even expressed doubts whether there is enough difference to justify a useful distinction

between the line and staff of an organisation.

Line-Item Budget

The line-item budget is an improvement over the earlier lump-sum budget and articulated the objective of controlling the executive more emphatically. In line-item budget, the total appropriation of an agency is divided into, and linked to, objects of expenditure. The line-item budget derived its theme from the practice of putting the item of expenditure on the left side of a line and the cost involved in it on the right side. The line-item budget allocates financial resources according to the cost of each object of expenditure.

Listed Posts

An upshot of the report of the Aitchison Commission on Public Service in 1887 was that the Indian Civil Service emerged as a corps d'elite, shedding posts of lesser importance from its fold. The Provincial Civil Service, better known by its abbreviated name, PCS, was created to accomodate these posts which were shed. To attract better quality Indians to the Provincial Civil Service, certain incentives were devised and as a consequence 'listed posts' were created in 1892 when the PCS was first designed.

It has already been observed that all higher civil posts in administration were reserved for the Indian Civil Service. As an incentive, the members of the Provincial Civil Service were made eligible for these 'charmed' posts reserved for the Indian Civil Service. The eligible list included, among others, one-third of the posts for district judge and one-sixth for district collector. These 'hived off' posts from the reserved list constituted the 'listed posts', which were filled from amongst the Provincial Civil Service on the basis of merit. The 'listed posts' were the prized posts awarded to more meritorious members of the Provincial Civil Service, but these posts were never permanently transferred to and amalgamated into the latter. Also, the holders of these 'hived off' posts were never allowed the salary permissible to the regular ICS incumbents.

The 'listed posts' continued until the present Constitution came into force in 1950.

Local Government

The Constitution of India nowhere defines 'local government'. The seventh schedule (list II, item 5) says: 'Local government, that is to say, the constitution and powers of municipal corporations, improvement trusts, district boards, mining settlement authorities and other local authorities for the

purpose of local self-government and village administration'. This only illustrates the types of local bodies existing during the enactment of the Constitution. Secondly, the illustration places both the elective bodies and the nominated ones on the same footing, which is plainly unacceptable.

Thus viewed, till 1993, local government in India rested on the discretion of the states, and thus it did not exist in its own right. The seventy-third constitutional amendment, operative since 1993 removes these lacunae. Article 243 of the Constitution defines zila parishad, gramsabha, panchayat, etc. Article 243 refers to the powers of the gramsabha, constitution of panchayats, reservation of seats, duration of panchayat, constitution of finance commissions and audit and accounts of the panchayat. The Constitution has now a new schedule, namely the eleventh schedule after the tenth schedule. Part IX of the Constitution added in 1992, covers structural, organisational, functional and financial aspects of the panchayati raj. The state legislatures have been empowered to enact laws:

1. To authorise a panchayat to levy, collect and appropriate certain types of taxes, duties, tolls and fees.
2. To assign to a panchayat certain types of taxes, duties, tolls levied and collected by a state government.
3. To provide for making grants-in-aid to the panchayats from the Consolidated Fund of the state.
4. To provide for constitution of such funds for panchayats for crediting all money received by panchayats and also withdrawal of such money therefrom.

Similarly the seventy-fourth constitutional amendment confers a constitutional status on the municipal government.

Localisation

Localisation is the reverse of globalisation. The term 'local' is defined in terms of a nation-state. Localisation refers to a consciously adopted process of discrimination in favour of the local. It safeguards national economic interest against imports of goods and services that can be produced locally. It, thus, redirects trade and aid in order to rebuild local economy rather than international competitiveness.

Lock-out

Opposite of strike. Lock-out is the closing of a factory or workplace by an employer to resist the demands of employees.

Lower Division Clerk

A lower division clerk in the

government is responsible for diarisation of papers, maintenance of various registers in the section, typing various periodical statements/returns, despatch and attending to routine matters. Recruited by the Staff Selection Commission through an open competitive examination, the minimum educational qualification prescribed is matriculation.

The clerks' grade examination is one of the most important examinations conducted by the Staff Selection Commission. Eighty per cent of the total recruitment is done by the method of direct recruitment through open competitive examination, while five per cent of the vacancies are filled by persons excelling in sports and another five per cent by promotion from Group D employees with five years of service. The remaining ten per cent vacancies are filled through limited departmental competitive examination conducted by the Staff Selection Commission for those Group D employees who are matriculates and have rendered five years of service.

Lumberdar

In currency during the British colonial rule. He was a registered representative responsible for government revenue. The lumberdar was a cultivator who on his own account or as the representative of other members of the village, paid the government dues and was registered in the district collector's roll according to his number. As the representative of the rest, he could hold the office by descent or by some kind of election.

Lump-Sum Budget

The budget history in the U.S.A. started with the lump-sum-budget. At that time, the budget was viewed as a control mechanism—a tool of legislative control over the executive. The lump-sum budget gave a spending department funds to spend more or less as it saw fit. There was no political control over how the funds were used. This kind of budget did not provide for legislative scrutiny of the executive activities and was thus a chaotic arrangement.

M

Madarsa

A college for instruction in Mohammedan law.

Mafia: A System of Parallel Governance

Mafia as an underworld institution is too familiar today to need elaborate definition. A mafia group is closely knit, secret and insists on total loyalty from its members. It is an exclusive group and indulges in organised crime. It originated in a secret society of fifteenth-century Sicily, then an independent island country.

The island of Sicily has had a highly checkered political history, a description of which will throw light on the institution of mafia. Sicily, apparently an insignificant island, has truly been, in history, the cynosure of all eyes. Ensconsed in the Mediterranean, the island was indeed, most coveted, attracting to its shores invasions from neighbouring and distant countries. A succession of foreigners ruled Sicily in the course of history. It was at one time under the rule of the Carthagians. It was wrested from them by ancient Rome. It next came under the yoke of the Byzantine Empire. The Ottomans, too, conquered and annexed Sicily. Germany, also, had its date with Sicily at one time.

The reason for the Sicilian obsession is not far to seek. In Europe, Sicily is most strategically located, being perhaps a gateway to the north, the south, the east and the west. It is closest to Africa. If it is true that one who controlled the Mediterranean controlled the world then Sicily held the key to it.

Mafia had its social origin in the succession of foreign rules in the island country (it became a part of Italy only in the later part of the nineteenth century). A foreign power ruled Sicily through laws which evidently favoured the ruler and went against the interests of the conquered people. This, at any rate, was the local perception. Not unnaturally, they met with social rejection and the Sicilians declared their own rules and laws of governance for the country. In order to survive, they had to operate secretly. The protest group thus represented a competitive system of governance ever ready to challenge and repudiate the externally imposed

system. In this local protest and psychology, lies the genesis of the mafia. Indeed, the term 'mafia' literally means 'hostility to the law'. Mafia, thus has a long social history behind it. It offered a competitive, parallel system of governance, making as its chosen target the more visible instruments of the foreign rule, namely the law enforcement agencies. To run its organisation, it needed funds which it collected from the people by imposition of its own system of taxation. It had a code of loyalty and secrecy which it most rigorously imposed.

When Sicily became an integral part of Italy in 1868, mafia groups did not vanish. They continued to exist and operate, employing the time-honoured methods of organised violence but discovered new goals, new purposes, new causes. But they continued to challenge the established government, striving to remain as a competitive system of governance, making the police, the army and the magistracy their preferred targets.

It is interesting to note that it was Mussolini, who in the course of his twenty-year fascist rule in Italy during and preceding the Second World War, decided to crush the menace of the mafia in Sicily with full determination. He sent a carefully selected prefect to govern Sicily and this prefect was particularly asked to flush out and exterminate members of the mafia. The prefect—Cesare Mori by name—was not to bother about rule of law, fair trial, etc., there being no democracy in the country under his rule. Mori was responsible for the killing of a large number of mafia leaders while others were rounded up and imprisoned on an island off Sicily, namely the island of Linusa.

It would be wrong to say that the mafia groups were eliminated by Mussolini: the mafia groups merely subsided during that period. The mafia has keen skills of survival. They gained legitimacy under Mussolini's rule by the ploy of becoming fascists themselves and whom the dictator recruited. But they continued their anti-social activities in the guise of their new roles.

During the Second World War, Sicily became an important theatre of war in Europe. The Allied Powers invaded Italy from the North African side. The Americans attacked from the east and won an easy victory. The success lay in the Americans' informal contacts with the local mafia chief through the America-settled mafia dons. The U.S. general promised leniency and even high posts to the imprisoned mafia leaders, if they cooperated with the Americans. These leaders had their regular contacts in the Italian

army which surrendered without any marked opposition. One may note that Italy was the first to lay down its arms before the Allied Powers in the Second World War. Many of these mafia chiefs were given high posts, such as being made, mayors, under the allied control.

Mafia continued to flourish even after the Second World War. Originally a Sicilian phenomenon, mafia has today become a generic term, meaning 'an international secret criminal organisation'; 'any group considered to resemble the mafia'. It is an exclusive group and employs terrorist methods to control an activity. It has spread to Indian cities also, and is thus no longer an exclusive Italian phenomenon. Mafia is organised in families, each with its own boss and indulge in organised crime involving gambling, setting up loan sharks, drug pedalling, prostitution, etc. In the cities of New York, Chicago and those in Italy including Sicily, the mafia extorts protection money and runs a parallel system of government.

Mahal

A small district; a territorial subdivision; a ward of a town. A term in use under the Muslim rule in India.

Maiden Speech

The first speech of a member of parliament in the legislature. As a matter of courtesy he is not interrupted. It is a convention to give precedence to him and for the following member to compliment him.

Malaysia Corporated Policy

Incorporated policy, prefixed by the name of a country (e.g. Japan Incorporated) denounces a dichotomy between the public and private sectors believing in the centrality of the private sector, where public sector would provide the major policy-frame and direction and the necessary support and auxiliary services to ensure the former's success. The underlying philosophy is that successful national development necessitates the public and private sectors to subscribe to the perception of the nation (say, India) as a 'corporate' entity or business entity, jointly owned by both sectors: both sectors are partners and must work in tandem in pursuit of national goals. The incorporated policy puts to rest the antagonistic and adverse relationship between the two sectors, replacing it instead with a rather symbiotic relationship based on mutual understanding, cooperation, trust and confidence in each other.

Maler's Law

If the data do not fit the theory, they must be disposed of.

This means, if the data do not fit one's preconceived notion, they are obviously wrong and are to be discarded. This law was enunciated by Norman Maler, the American psychologist.

Malguzars

Land holders, renters, etc. paying revenue to government.

Malikana

A subsistence granted to zamindars when the government took charge of their lands.

Mamlatdar

A title of a civil officer in the district in western India during the colonial rule. He was a civil officer in charge of a taluk, corresponding to a tehsildar in the Bengal presidency. He superintended the collection of the revenue.

Management

Management refers to professional administration, interchangeable with administration. According to Henri Fayol (1841–1925), administration or management is one of the six activities which an undertaking inevitably performs, the other five being technical, commercial, financial, security, accounting. The administrative or managerial activities include planning, organisation, command, coordination and control (POCCC). The processes involved in administration are further expanded into POSDCORB by Luther Gulick and L. Urwick. Management or administration is concerned with getting things done—those who actually do the work are other persons. The administrators or managers are thus engaged in POCCC or POSDCORB, and are generalists as distinct from the specialists. This view is too one-sided and is under attack in the complex society of today. As Dwight Waldo asserts, today, the generalist must specialise and the specialist must generalise.

Management Auditing

A category of performance auditing to determine whether management has been conducting the operations of an organisation in an efficient or economical manner.

Management by Exception

A method of operation under which subordinates keep their bosses informed on exceptional events calling for their intervention if things are not proceeding according to plan.

Management by exception is related to Pareto's law and is also sometimes known as reporting by responsibility.

Management by Objectives (MBO)

Management by objectives

(MBO) is an interactive process in which a manager and an employee jointly agree on work goals to be achieved by the subordinate and define each other's responsibilities in achieving the agreed upon goals. It is, thus, a technique of fixing mutually agreed targets to be achieved by the employees within the overall framework of policies and goals. This is a consultative technique, linked with performance appraisal. The targets fixed must be quantifiable and measurable. This technique was first developed and propagated by Peter Drucker.

The management by objectives, in short, is a management system which incorporates within itself these three features: participation in decision-making, goal-setting and objective feedback. Enough empirical evidence exists to show that application of this technique contributes to gains in productivity.

Managerialism

The emergence of managerialism in public administration reminds one of James Burnham's *Managerial Revolution* (1942). Managerialism in public administration refers to the process of the growing induction of management into public administration, moving the latter towards public management or even new public management.

Mandamus

A writ guaranteed under the Constitution of India. It is a prerogative writ of a remedial nature, used for public purposes. It enforces performance of public duties. This writ compels public functionaries to do what they are duty bound to do. Both the Supreme Court and the high court can issue this writ for the enforcement of any of the fundamental rights. The high court can issue it for any other purpose too. But this writ cannot be issued against a legislature.

Manpower Planning

Delineating goals for the development and utilisation of human resources as part of overall general economic and social development and specifying definite measures for attaining these goals. It assures supply to meet the demand at different levels of education and skills, with a view to ensuring the highest levels of productive employment within the larger scope of long-term goals of economic development. Manpower planning is thus, an integral part of economic planning: manpower planning is an indispensable complement to educational planning.

Manual

Handbook of procedures of work and attendant rules and regulations.

Market Failure

Market failure refers to the set of conditions under which a market economy fails to allocate resources efficiently. Many are the sources of market failure; equally, many are the degrees of market failure.

Market Testing

Market testing, a form of privatisation, is a process by which public administration assesses how best the goods and services it presently provides be delivered by a private sector contractor. Market testing is thus contracting out of goods and services. It means using the private sector to contract out government goods and services. It is easier in entirely new services. As there is no in-house operation, no opposition is encountered. In market testing, the unit of examination should be an activity. Each activity should be regarded on its own merit. If an activity 'x' has been contracted out it does not follow that 'y' should also be contracted out. Market testing evokes resistance from the staff as it feels threatened. Its purpose is to get value for money. It has achieved cost savings of 20 per cent. It is getting increasing acceptance in the United Kingdom. But it is also subject to criticism. First, public administration is today engaged in carrying out many functions which are not performed anywhere else in the private sector. These constitute the monopoly of the public sector and cannot be market tested. Secondly, a department in government performs what may be called its 'core' functions which cannot be contracted out. These functions are basic to its existence. It is also not free from other problems. Market testing is perceived as a threat by the staff—what would happen to them when their functions are contracted out. In the third world, public administration continues to be the prime mover in many areas, a reason being that the private sector is not well developed nor is it professional and competitive. Private sector also suffers from many other weaknesses. Market testing, on the other hand, presupposes viable private sector. It destroys the in-house arrangements. Private sector may hold the government to ransom by entering into cartel formations, thus losing the advantages that flow from free competition.

To repeat, market testing assesses which of the services an organisation is presently responsible for can best be provided by the private sector.

Martial Law

Military or martial law means the suspension of ordinary law and the temporary governance of

the country or part of it by the military authorities. Martial law rests on no settled principles and is arbitrary in its decisions, so to say. In India, Parliament, by law can proclaim martial law in any part of the country in case of grave insurrection. Equally, Parliament, by law provides for indemnity of acts of persons in the maintenance or restoration of order in any area where martial law is in force, validate any sentence passed, punishment inflicted, forfeiture ordered or any other act done under martial law. Under the constitutional provisions, protection is provided not only to military officers but also civilian officers for any act done during the martial law in the maintenance of order.

Mass Media

Mass media are forms of communication that reach a very large audience, i.e. radio, telephone and newspapers (called, print media).

Materials Management

Definitions of materials management differ as there is little agreement on what tasks are included in the concept. One may, however, define the term by saying that it is a coordinated management from planning and production of materials from the earliest stage of raw material to the final finished product stage.

Matrix Organisation

A recently developed model of organisation design, matrix organisation is a rather flexible organisation in which one individual reports to two or even more bosses. Matrix organisation originated in the U.S. space programme in the 1960s when the scientists faced the challenge of meeting the target of putting man on the moon by 1970. The feat required tight project coordination while remaining within the budgetary allocations set up by the Congress. Three situations point to the employment of matrix organisations:

1. Need for tight coordination,
2. situations involving uncertainties which require high-velocity information processing, and
3. limitations on budgetary and human resources. Matrix organisation is temporary being preferred for temporary projects.

Mauza

A village; estate.

Elton Mayo

A pioneer of the human relations movement in administration and a leading figure in the development of industrial psychology, Elton Mayo (1880–1949) rose to prominence for his very extensive Hawthorne studies. These studies

highlighted the role of interpersonal relations in the work group, which came as a challenge—or to be more specific as a corrective—to Frederick Winslow Taylor's scientific management. Elton Mayo showed that production is affected by attitude to work and to supervision.

Mayor-Council Form of Local Government

The local government in the U.S.A. is principally organised in three forms, one of which is the mayor-council form. Mayor-council forms of municipal government is characterised by a mayor with executive functions while the council has legislative functions. Under the 'strong mayor' plan, the department heads are directly appointed by the mayor, subject to approval by the council. In the weak mayor plan of municipal government the departmental heads are directly elected thereby limiting the control of the mayor over the latter (i.e. the departmental heads). Most cities in the U.S.A. have adopted the 'strong mayor' plan.

Merit

The Dictionary defines 'merit' as 'due reward or punishment, deserving entitlement, claim to gratitude or esteem, excellence, worth'. It is a somewhat loose term carrying several meanings but it is operationalised, as suggested by Max Weber, through a written examination in which the pedagogic ability of the candidates is tested: Merit is the cornerstone of personnel administration.

The merit principle of recruitment made its advent in modern public administration in the 1850s, and the credit for its introduction goes to two reports, namely the Macaulay Report on the Indian Civil Service (1854) and the Northcote-Trevelyan Report on the Organisation of the Permanent Civil Service (1854). The Macaulay Report on the Indian Civil Service recommended the introduction of open competition by adopting 'a standard which is not calculated to favour any class, school or other institution of learning'. The report presented in Great Britain jointly by Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1854 sought to:

1. provide, by a proper system of examination, for the supply of the public service, with a thoroughly efficient class of men; and
2. encourage industry and foster merit by teaching all public servants to look forward to promotion according to their deserts and to expect the highest prizes in the service if they qualify themselves for them.

For the first time, the North-

cote-Trevelyan Report identified some of the principles which underlie the development of a modern civil service. Its principal recommendations related to:

1. recruitment by competitive examination rather than patronage;
2. a division between intellectual and mechanical work;
3. promotion by merit; and
4. measures to unify the civil service including a common basis of recruiting across departments.

The Macaulay Report on India gained immediate acceptance, and the first competitive examination for public recruitment was held in 1854. But the acceptance of the Northcote-Trevelyan Report in Britain was marked by local resistance as it affected patronage. The application of merit was thus slow and gradual. The recommendation evoked criticism that this mode would attract persons of poor moral character as this attribute cannot be gauged by a written examination. Ignoring this criticism, an order was issued on 21 May 1855 observing: 'It is expedient to make a provision for testing, according to fixed rules, the qualifications of the young men who may from time to time be proposed to be appointed to the junior situations'. Areas of public administration were, however, left untouched. It took nearly twenty years to implement open competition. As the merit principle took away patronage, the Parliament was against it. Open competition was gaining gradual acceptance and this process could not be completed until July 1870 when the Queen-in-Council issued the order declaring:

> All appointments ... shall be made by reasons of competitive examinations according to regulations ... open to all persons (of requisite age, health, character and other qualifications prescribed in the said regulations), who may be desirous of attending the same.

To test the merit, a multi-membership civil service commission was appointed in 1855. The commission served both Britain and India.

The wind was thus blowing in favour of the merit principle of recruitment. The United States was the home of the spoils system and the society was getting weary of this arrangement of favours. The assassination of the serving president, Garfield, hastened reform and the country passed the United States Civil Service Act (The Pendleton Act), 1883, putting an end to the prevalent spoils system and establishing 'a civil service merit system which provided for the selection of

employees on the basis of qualifications and fitness'. Merit system of public recruitment was thus installed and a civil service commission was set up to act as its watchdog. One must note that in 1883, only ten per cent of the federal posts were subject to the application of the merit principle, the remaining ninety per cent still remained under the spoils system. The Pendleton Act, 1883, provided for an expanding application of the merit principle, and today ninety per cent of the federal posts are controlled by merit, only ten per cent being under the sway of spoils.

Merit Pay

An additional pay given to an employee whose work is judged to be superior and whose services are valued.

Miles' Law

'Where you stand depends on where you sit'. Said about committees and commissions.

Military Civilian

During the British rule in India, provinces fell into two categories; regulation provinces, and non-regulation provinces. The regulation provinces were as a rule filled by an officer drawn from the Indian Covenanted Civil Service, while he could be drawn from the military in non-regulation provinces like Punjab. Military officers appointed on civilian posts were called 'military civilians'.

Military Collector

Provinces during the colonial rule originated as regulation provinces or non-regulation ones. The administration of the regulation provinces was based more completely on a liberal philosophy characterised by restraint on executive power. But there were tracts in India which demanded a more simplified administration in the perceived tradition of the country that one man should rule, uniting in himself the supreme power as maker of the law, as judge, tax-collector, soldier and policeman. 'It was the way India liked to be ruled'. It was a practice during the British rule to appoint a military collector, drawn from the military, in the frontier districts where problems were different from the ones in the settled districts. Lord Cornwallis freely chose soldiers putting them in posts of civil administration. This practice continued from 1786 to 1947. Non-regulation provinces were less fettered by laws and conferred more flexibility in matters of appointments.

Woodruff, Philip: *The Men who Ruled India*, London, Jonathan Cape.

Millennial Budgeting

A novel concept advocated by some on the eve of the third millennium. Millennial budgeting means budgeting for the next 1,000 years—the year 2000 is already upon us. Organisations in the U.S.A. such as the Office of Management and Budgeting, the General Accounting Office are engaged in projective studies into the future.

Minister

Ministers are appointed by the president of India or governor of the state on the advice of the prime minister (or chief minister) respectively. He holds office during the pleasure of the president (or governor) which means as long as his party commands the majority support in the legislature. If a minister is not a member of either house of parliament (or state legislature) for six months, he ceases to be a member of parliament (or state legislature). A minister is not individually responsible to the Lok Sabha but the council of ministers is collectively responsible to the Lok Sabha.

Model

A model is a replica. It is a representation in small scale used to give an idea of the life-size object.

Mofussil

Rural hinterland.

Money Bill

A bill which contains provisions dealing with the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration or regulation of taxation, etc. The speaker endorses a certificate on the Money Bill. A money bill cannot be introduced in the upper house. In the event of any doubt, the speaker's decision on the matter will be final. The Money Bill is required to be passed by the Lok Sabha. The upper house can only make recommendations which are not binding on the Lok Sabha. The Rajya Sabha cannot detain a money bill for more than fourteen days.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reform

This was the colonial response to the Indian nationalist movement for *swaraj*, inaugurating the introduction of representative and responsible government in India, culminating in the Government of India Act, 1919. One outcome of the reform was accelerated Indianisation of civil services in India.

Motahdarry

The permanent settlement as introduced by the British into the south of India.

Motivators

The concept was developed by Frederick Herzberg and refers to job-content factors. What motivates an employee are factors such as work, recognition, achievement responsibility, advancement, etc. A motivation seeker is motivated by the nature of the task, realises satisfaction from accomplishments, profits professionally from experience and nurtures positive feelings towards work and life in general.

Mukhtyar

A criminal court attorney during the British rule in India.

Multinational Corporations

In the nineties of the twentieth century the multinational corporations, also known as the transnational corporations, were 37,000 in number with more than 2 lakh foreign affiliates. They employed 73 million persons at home and abroad. In 1992, the world's largest 100 transnational corporations held US $ 3.4 trillion in global assets. Forty per cent of these assets were located outside their home countries.

Munsif

An Indian judge during the British rule or justice whose decision was limited to suits for personal property not exceeding fifty rupees. The title of a 'native' civil judge of the lowest grade in British India. The post was established in 1793.

N

Namool

The term in use in revenue matters and means usage, custom or also unwritten law.

Nankar

A grant to zamindars for their maintenance.

National Academy of Administration

Training of recruits to higher civil services is a post-independent development in India. The British rulers in India believed in on-the-job training and never thought of establishing a regular training institution even though the College at Fort Williams and the Haileybury College had been set up by them for imparting initial instruction to the new recruits. Institutional training was considered necessary by independent India. Following the setting up of the Indian Administrative Service, two training institutions were set up—the IAS Training School at Metcalfe House, Delhi, and later in 1957, the IAS Staff College at Simla. In 1958, a decision was taken to found the National Academy of Administration which was set up in 1959 and located away from Delhi, at Mussoorie. In 1972, it was named the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration.

The LBS National Academy of Administration is a governmental institution operating under the government of India's Ministry of Personnel and headed by a director, a senior serving civil servant from the Indian Administrative Service. The academy is assisted in its tasks by administrators drawn from various services as well as permanent academic faculty. It conducts a foundational course in which newly recruited civil servants to all non-technical services including the IAS participants. It is also the professional training school for the IAS, running professional, refresher and other advanced courses for India's premier generalist service. The academy brings out a quarterly journal known as *The Administrator*.

National Highways

The arterial roads of the country for inter-state and strategic defence movements. These traverse the length and breadth of the country connecting the national and state capitals, major ports and rail junctions and link up with

broader roads and foreign highways. National highways are constructed and maintained by the Government of India.

National Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science

Set up in 1972 under the name of the Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science, it acquired its present name in 1976 and has been conferred the status of an independent organisation under the Ministry of Home Affairs. The NICFS imparts in-service training to officers in police, judiciary, correctional services and also to others engaged in the correctional justice system. It also conducts research in areas relating to criminology and forensic science and publishes a journal.

National Natural Resources Management

National natural resources like water, land and forests are common pool resources and must be managed by the benefitting community. Traditionally, these resources are managed by the government, which means centralised, indifferently motivated hierarchical bureaucracies. Their management by the career bureaucracy proved to be highly unsatisfactory and demands have been made to entrust management of such resources directly to the beneficiaries themselves. Participatory Irrigation Management (PIM), for instance, entrusts administration of irrigation and water delivery system to the water-users themselves. The concerned farmers should form water-users' associations.

(Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel) National Police Academy, Hyderabad

The National Police Academy, which was its original nomenclature, was set up in 1948 and is India's premier police-training institution, its primary aim being to impart training to the new recruits to the Indian Police Service. The academy prepares leaders for the Indian police, who will lead and command the force with courage, uprightness, dedication, and inculcate a strong sense of service towards the people. The academy aims to inculcate right attitudes in the police personnel to help them serve the people better. It endeavours to instil 'integrity of the highest order, sensitivity to aspirations of people, respect for human rights, broad liberal perspective of law and justice, high standard of professionalism, physical fitness and mental alertness'. Also the academy is the nation's focal point for training of instructors for police-training institutions all over the country. It provides consultancy services to sister-training institutions for

improving their management of training functions. Finally, the academy is a centre for research studies on police subjects.

The academy conducts a wide range of training courses. It runs training courses for the IPS probationers, in-service management courses for the officers of the junior, middle and top levels of the Indian Police Service, training of trainers and, training courses for state police service officers promoted to the IPS. It also organises seminars and conferences on professional subjects for all levels of police officers.

Earlier the academy was located at Mt Abu in Rajasthan but was later shifted to Hyderabad.

National Security Guard

The National Security Guard came into existence on 22 September 1986 for the protection of very-very important personalities (VVIPs). It is an elite, security force raised in the wake of growing terrorist activities in different parts of India. The NSG consists of jawans and officers from the army and the police. Its personnel are taken on deputation. The NSG is reputed for its 'deadly excellence'. Its recruits are trained at Manesar in Haryana. Its operating motto being—one shot, one kill.

Nawab/Nabob

The term was used for the retired covenanted servants of the East India Company who returned to England loaded with riches. *The Nabobs At Home* by Michael Edwards is a full-length study of the social life in Britain led by these retired civil servants of the East India Company. 'They were a comparatively small number of men who had acquired by various means, usually dubious, large fortunes in India which they intended to spend in ensuring their entry into society. That is to say, into the political, social, and economic preserves of the English landed gentry ... They were quickly named "nabobs" after nawab, the Indian word for an Indian Muslim prince'.

Edwards, Michael: *The Nabobs At Home*, London, Constable, 1991.

Nawab

Originally, 'nawab' referred to a high-ranking official under the Mughals. Later it was used as a courtesy title for a member of the Muslim elite.

Naxalism

The term is derived from 'Naxalbari', a place in north-west Bengal where a rebellion took place in 1967 articulating radical agrarian reform. Naxalism refers to revolutionary, radical ideology based on the use of violent means and demanding agrarian reform.

Nazarana

Common during the Muslim rule in India. A ceremonial present from a lower to a superior, nazarana was sanctioned by Indian practice. It was a public testimony of dependence and subservience. The term is of Mughal origin.

Need for Achievement

Need for achievement is a motivational attitude towards work performance for achievement of the target goal. The concept of need for achievement has been known since 1947, its leading proponent being D.C. McClelland (*Human Motivation*, 1985).

New Federalism

Shift of responsibility and power from the higher-level federal government to the lower units by providing more state and local control and decentralisation of decision-making. New federalism marks a policy of federal decentralisation.

New Left

A political creed supporting political radicalism in response to new right and the traditional liberals of the left. New left seeks a radical re-structuring of the society.

New Public Administration

New public administration refers to the qualitative shift of focus in the development of public administration which occurred immediately at the end of the Second World War. Hitherto, public administration was premised on the politics-administration dichotomy and textbooks articulating this and widely used in universities and colleges were L.D. White's *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* and John M. Pfiffner's *Public Administration*. The single most notable contribution made by new public administration is the laying to rest forever this belief in the separateness of politics and administration. A large number of teachers of public administration joined the federal government during the war and thus, directly gained the experience of governmental functioning. Their experience showed that politics pervades all phases of administration and thus the dichotomy is mythical and non-existent. Returning to the campus, many of them got together and brought out a publication: Fritz Morstein Marx (ed.): *Elements of Public Administration* (1946). Equally forceful was Paul H. Appleby's *Policy and Administration* (1949) in which he reiterated the inherently political character of public administration. In a quest for realism the outcome was the Inter-University Case Programme, which began in 1948 under the leadership of Harold Stein.

New Public Administration

New Public Administration was a bold systematic protest against traditional public administration to root it in values or ethics of social equity, change and relevance, in the late 1960s. The upshot of the Minnowbrook Conference, organised in 1968 under the leadership of Dwight Waldo and attended by the younger entrants into the discipline, was the concept of New Public Administration (NPA) with its anchorage in ethics. It was wedded to normative concerns and sought to rescue public administration from its ongoing technical parameters. It helped to set, in a sense, the future agenda of public administration. The discipline as a result is increasingly concerned with policy issues. New Public Administration is thus explicitly imbued with ideology and committed to activism. In other words, public administration is, in the ultimate analysis, a problem of political theory. NPA is opposed to the abstract bureaucratic formalism of Max Weber and espouses egalitarian concerns.

In 1968, inequality and injustice, especially based on race, was widely prevalent in the U.S.A. The American government is based on a democratic constitution but it failed in that promise. Public administrators were also to blame. Since the 1940s, public administration emphasised the concepts of decision-making, systems analysis, operations research and rationality. As a part of public administration, administrators were supposed to uphold efficiency and economy. To remedy the inadequacy of these two concepts in the theory and practice of public administration, H. George Frederickson propounded a theory of social equity to act as the third pillar of public administration. Frederickson observed:

> To say that a service may be well managed and that a service may be efficient and economical, still begs these questions. Well, managed for whom? Efficient for whom? Economical for whom? We have generally assumed in public administration a convenient oneness with the public. We have not focussed our attention or concern to the issue of variations in social and economic conditions. It is of great convenience, both theoretically and practically, to assume in public administration a convenient oneness with the public. It is of great convenience, both theoretically and practically, to assume that citizen A is the same as citizen B and that both receive public services in equal measure. This assumption may be convenient, but it is both illogical and empirically inaccurate.[1]

Seventies saw some publications written a year or two before that. That period was charged in American society. The nation was in the midst of a crisis. There were riots in several American cities. Universities were in a stage of turbulence. The Minnowbrook Conference, which led to the publication of *Toward a New Public Administration*, was organised at a time when the 1968 presidential campaign was being held. The campaign revived memories of the McCarthy campaign, the Kennedy assassination and the turmoil in the streets following the Chicago Democratic Convention. The American Political Science Association had a stormy meeting and was on the brink of a split on ideological grounds. Several members went directly to the Minnowbrook Conference from the American Political Science Association meeting. *Toward a New Public Administration: The Minnowbrook Perspective* edited by Frank Marini (1971) and *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence* edited by Waldo are apocalyptic in their tones and disclose a sense of social crisis and even of imminence of revolutionary change.

Waldo's *Public Administration in a Time of Turbulence* (1971), embodies the views of the younger teachers of public administration and is designed as a follow up to *Toward a New Public Administration*. The book is a collection of articles presenting a variety of perspectives, challenges, alternatives, dilemmas and paradigms.

[1]Fredrickson, George H., 'Public Administration and Social Equity', in *Public Administration Review*, vol. 50, no. 2, March-April 1990, pp. 228–9.

New Public Management (NPM)

The 1970s was a period characterised by economic crises calling for bold measures of administrative rebuilding and reform. Public administration was relentlessly expanding ever since the end of the Second World War, pushing up public spending, a trend which called for the arrest of this growth. This forced rethinking in public administration and as a result, new ways of delivering public services began to be devised. By the end of the 1980s the new changes and concepts began to acquire a distinct shape in public administration and were given the label of New Public Management. The term 'New Public Management' was coined by Christopher Hood in 1991 and used in his paper on 'A Public Management for All Seasons', published in *Public Administration* (vol. 69, issue I). Another equally important contributor is Gerald Caiden.[1] Some notable

scholars contributing to NPM are P. Hoggett, C. Pollitt, R. Rhodes, R.M. Kelly, P. Aucoin and L. Terry.

The whole array of methods and techniques employed to reform public administration since the early 1980s is given the broad label of New Public Management. According to Richard Common, new public management is 'used as an acronym to destribe a vast range of contemporary administrative changes'. NPM has become a very popular concept, the secret lying 'in its appeal as an attractive solution to the problems of big and inefficient government'.[2]

New Public Management hinges on public-choice theory and managerialism, thus reposing its belief in the primacy of the market and of private sector management. Public-choice theory reminds one of the new right movement or neo-liberalism. The market model is the dominant model of governance in the NPM schema. It introduces competitive elements into public administration, marketisation being its key feature. This latest strategy of administrative reform is winning growing acceptance in the world, and institutionalises the old ideology of liberalism, now under the name of neo-liberalism. It believes 'that government is the best which rules the least' thus supporting the unqualified superiority of the market over the state. This is nothing short of a paradigm shift: the space vacated by the shrinking of the public bureaucracy is to be occupied by the market. The two defining pillars of New Public Management are the public-choice theory and neo-Taylorism. New Public Management must be viewed in this larger perspective. More than anything else, it marks an aggressively managerial approach in public administration, and may thus be seen as a direct denunciation of the traditional model of administration woven around Max Weber. It logically follows that NPM is anti-bureaucratic. David Osborne and Ted Gaebler regard bureaucracies as redundant in the present age. They assert: 'They simply do not function well in the rapidly changing, information-rich, knowledge-intensive society and economy of the 1990s'.

The public-choice perspective has been finding increasing endorsement in public administration since the early seventies. In 1965, Gordon Tullock in his *The Politics of Bureaucracy* exposed the uglier face of public bureaucracy and offered a coherent public-choice analysis. Two years later, in 1967 came Anthony Down's *Inside Bureaucracy* in which the author analysed the bureaucratic behaviour from the stand point of public choice. But the most

devastating exposition of the bureau's behaviour was offered by William A. Niskanen in his *Bureaucracy and Representative Government* published in the year 1973. Niskanen built a formidable case for the public-choice theory, arguing that the government bureau's revenue does not depend on the customer and, as such, the bureaucrats are indifferent to the customers. They are all professionally trained economists: indeed, economists have made a singular contribution to public administration by propounding the paradigm of New Public Management. Vincent Ostrom powerfully asserts that bureaucracy is chronically incapable of supplying public goods and services to the community. He observes: 'Bureaucratic structures are necessary but not sufficient structures for a productive and responsive public service economy'. Ostrom favours the individual as the unit of analysis and advocates the public-choice theory.

To sum up, public-choice theory has emerged as a powerful theory in policy-making since the seventies as it seeks to impart an altogether new orientation to public administration. It commits itself to market values and is thus set against monopolies. The market system, one may note, is based on a competitive system: a customer enjoys the opportunity of choosing between competing service-providers. It, thus, abolishes the monopoly of the government in respect of the supply of public services: it instead introduces market. As under the public-choice theory, public bureaus will be exposed to competition, there will be a continual search for improvement in the service standards. This promotes decentralisation also: as the service-users get the choice to choose between competing service suppliers, power is decentralised. NPM, thus, borrows 'how' from business management and blends it in the 'what' of public administration. What this implies is that New Public Management is dressed up in the language of management, referring as it does to the methods and techniques imported from the commercial sector.

The challenge to the Weberian bureaucracy, which New Public Management undoubtedly is, was not isolated nor light-hearted. The protest assumed a variety of names. The commonly used terms are managerialism (Pollitt, 1990), 'New Public Management' (Lan and Rosenbloom, 1992), 'Entrepreneurial Government' (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992).

The following ten principles advocated by Osborne and Gaebler and in their book *Reinventing Government, How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector* can be a road

map in designing a government on the broad principles of New Public Management:

Catalytic government	Steering rather than rowing
Community-owned government	Empowering rather than serving
Competitive government	Injecting competition into service delivery
Mission-driven government	Transforming rule-driven organisations
Result-oriented government	Funding outcomes not inputs
Customer-driven government	Meeting the needs of the customer, not the bureaucracy
Enterprising government	Earning rather than spending
Anticipatory government	Prevention better than cure
Decentralised government	From hierarchy to participation and teamwork
Market-oriented government	Leveraging change through the market

Obsorne and Gaebler's *Reinventing Government* entered the United States Government via Al Gore's Report of the National Performance Review (1993). The NPR is the outcome of an in-depth six-month study of the U.S. federal bureaucracy carried out by 250 public employees under the leadership of Al Gore (vice-president).[3] It prescribes a ten-point programme for promoting entrepreneurism in government:

1. Government must promote competition between service-providers.
2. It must empower citizens by pushing control out of the bureaucracy into the community.
3. It must measure the performance of their agencies focussing on outcomes, not on inputs.
4. It must be motivated by goals, not by rules and regulations.
5. It redefines its clients as customers, and offers them choices.
6. It must prevent problems before these emerge, rather than simply offering them services afterwards.
7. It must direct its energy towards earning money not simply spending it.
8. It must decentralise authority and promote participative management.
9. It must prefer market mechanisms to bureaucratic mechanisms.
10. It must not focus on providing public services but on catalysing all sectors in the society—public, private, voluntary—into action to solve the community's problems.

'New Public Management' is result-oriented and objective focussed. It believes in flexible arrangements in organisation

personnel, terms and conditions of employment, and so on. It seeks a clearer definition of organisational and personal objectives. Personnel performance should be measured strictly in these terms. It is prescriptive and descriptive. Its driving mottos are the 'three Es'— economy, efficiency and effectiveness (the words used by Christopher Pollitt 1990). Some other features also mark New Public Management. It advocates pruning the public bureaucracy and reduction in the functions of the modern state. It, thus, believes in privatisation. Secondly, it supports a change in governing style: it must eschew direct 'rowing' and instead, take up 'steering'. In other words, it believes in the separation of 'steering' from 'rowing' and thus, the nature of the governmental involvement in societal affairs undergoes a profound change.

The demand for reform of the traditional public administration first originated in the countries within the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) but later spread to other countries also. The New Public Management has the following central doctrines: A focus on management not policy, and on performance appraisal and efficiency; the disaggregation of public bureaucracies into agencies which deal with each other on a user-pay basis; the use of quasi-markets and contracting out to foster competition; cost-cutting; and a style of management which emphasises, amongst other things, output targets, limited term targets, monetary incentives and freedom to manage.' New Public Management has the following eight driving paradigms:

1. Devolving authority, providing flexibility;
2. Ensuring performance control and accountability;
3. Developing competition and choice;
4. Providing responsive service;
5. Improving the management of human resources;
6. Optimising information technology;
7. Improving the quality of regulation; and
8. Strengthening steering functions of the centre.

In other words, the distinguishing criteria of this concept may be summarised as follows:

1. Emphasis on the adoption of the managerial practices in acceptance in the private sector. This means increasing adoption of the managerial practices of private sector in public administration.
2. Promotion of competition within the public sector.
3. Greater use of contract arrangements within the government as well as outside it.

4. Emphasis on results rather than procedures.
5. Formulation of explicit standards and measures of performance.
6. Emphasis on disaggregation of administrative units.
7. Shift away from policy to management.
8. Encourage parsimony in public expenditure.

Critique of New Public Management

New Public Management looks attractive and its appeal essentially lies in the present disillusionment with the practice of public administration in most countries. Since the eighties, public administration as an intellectual discipline has been very much under criticism, particularly by economists. The criticism levelled is that human behaviour in organisation is generally driven by self-interest. Self-interest is best expressed in the profit motive and is achieved in the economic market. It is promoted by the economic market, which fosters competition. The remedy suggested is privatisation.

New Public Management distances the political executive from the implementational aspects of public administration. Under NPM, political executives lose control over the implementation of their policy as a result of managerial reforms. Moshe Maor of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, expresses the problem in this way. 'Investing in the public administration's managerial capital (i.e. giving public managers more authority to manage programmes) is most likely to result in political executives' disinvesting in the public administration's political capital (i.e. giving ministers greater capacity for setting central directions and priorities and intervention in personnel matters) so as to resolve the problems of loss of control over policy implementation raised by the managerial reforms put in place under the new public management.'[4]

Mention has already been made of the self-interest being promoted by the economic market. This argument is 'badly flawed' as Herbert Simon says. It is wrong to assert that the overriding motive behind human behaviour is self-interest. As Simon argues, human beings are motivated, not in terms of self-interest but in terms of 'the perceived interests of the groups, families, organisations, ethnic groups, national states'. Adam Smith's 'invisible hands' lie in the organisational identification and not in self-interest. Thus, the view that the profit motive is the only reliable motive for welding organisational action to social needs is

wrong. The new god—privatisation—cannot be uncritically accepted. It can never be accepted that privatisation always increases efficiency and productivity. Empirical researches do not show any coherent picture: private organisation is not always more efficient than public organisation nor vice versa. What is important is to remember that organisations are not people's enemy. As Herbert Simon asserts, 'organisations are the most effective tools that humans have found for meeting human needs. But for their effectiveness to grow we need, at all levels of talent, the kind of commitment, the sense of responsibility, and the organisational identification that we see in the careers of Don Stone and the myriads of others who have devoted their lives to the public service.'[5]

One must, however, note that the maladies of the public bureaucracy are substantially structural and attitudinal, and to discard it is, verily, like throwing the baby with the bathwater. New Public Management stands for an uncritical acceptance of even the negative features of private management. It shows complete ignorance of the attributes which are the distinguishing marks of public administration. It shows complete insensitivity to the concept of public interest. It cares little for administrative ethics in the running of public affairs. It shows complete ignorance of the attributes which are the defining marks of public administration with its anchorage in the constitution of the country. One must reiterate, the major problems in public administration are, in the ultimate analysis, political. New Public Management tends to overlook this central fact and oversimplify public administration, offering in the process, oversimplified solutions to problems which are complex and intricate in nature. Yet, it cannot be dismissed lightly. There are elements of truth in its criticism of the classical public administration. Its concern for the citizen is noble and deserves applause.

However, it must not be confused with New Public Administration. New Public Administration was articulated by, what may be called, the Young Turks in public administration—young public administrationists who were dissatisfied with the health of the subject and wanted to impart it a higher cause, a worthier mission, a nobler purpose. It sought to make public administration value-based. It recognised the worth of the individual and was committed to his empowerment in all dimensions. New Public Management has a different origin. Since the eighties, a new breed of scholars

evincing interest in public administration has been emerging in the West and even faculty positions have been created in some universities. They are generally decorated with management degrees and have thus graduated from the management schools. Many of them are economists by training. They seek to re-designate public administration as 'public sector'.

To sum up, the major attributes of New Public Management are three—localisation, externalisation, and debureaucratisation. Localisation refers to an inclination towards devolution and deconcentration. These mechanisms seek relocation of power, conferring growing importance to lower levels of goverance. The importance attached to lower levels promotes physical proximity to the actual users of services and thus promotes both answerability and quality.

Externalisation refers to contracting out of governmental functions to non-governmental agencies. In the process the government releases itself from the task of action-execution and thus is enabled to concentrate on policy-making. The device of contracting out has its advantages. The governmental monopoly is dispensed with and replaced by the private sector competing as service-providers. The resultant competition provides choices, raises quality and establishes consumer sovereignty.

The third attribute of New Public Management, debureaucratisation, has multiple nuances, entailing delayering, downsizing, decentralisation, splitting of a hierarchy or an organisation into internally more autonomous units, empowerment of the delivery system, etc. Delayering emphasises the desirability of a flatter organisation. Decentralisation enhances the importance of lower levels of an organisation. Downsizing refers to pruning the public bureaucracy so that it sheds dead wood that it has gathered over the years. Debureaucratisation demands cutting down the red-tape and delays, etc., thus laying stress on simplification of procedures. Debureaucratisation calls for attitudinal change in the organisation: an attitude like 'may I help you?' is to replace the characteristic governmental reaction 'I could not care less'. Finally, debureaucratisation scans the alternatives to the public bureaucracy. This attribute signifies a roll-back of the state.

These attributes seek nothing short of a radical departure from the present contents and style of governance. Many of the concepts, paradigms and assumptions of the traditional public administration are repudiated and rejected by NPM.

The latter plainly lays emphasis on action-points of public administration and thus recognises the primacy of the delivery system: men at the counter determine how the customers are served and hence utmost attention is to be given to the cutting edge of administiation.

[1]Caiden G: 'Administrative Reform Comes of Age', Berlin, de Gruyter.

[2]Richard Common: *Public Management and Policy: Transfer in South-east Asia*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001, pp. 43-44.

[3]The Clinton Administration's National Performance Review resulting in the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 (GPRA) has a long history. Its origin lies in the legislation introduced by the Republican, Senator William Roth, in 1990. The Roth legislation was referred to the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs which held hearings for over two years in the cause of which some of the original provisions were modified. The legislation was passed in 1993. While signing the legislation on 3 August 1993, President Clinton referred to the need for restoring American people's confidence in their federal government. He commented, 'The law simply requires that we chart a course for every endeavour that we take the people's money for, see how well we are progressing, tell the people how we are doing, stop the things that don't work and never, stop improving the things that we think are worth investing in'.

The Government Performance and Results Act, 1993, sought to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of federal programmes by establishing a system to set goals for programme performance and to measure programme results. As a result of the legislation, the federal agencies focus on programme results, service quality, and customer satisfaction. The Government Performance and Results Act, 1993, has several objectives.

1. To enhance the confidence of the people in the government by fixing accountability for achieving programme results.
2. To stimulate reform with a series of pilot projects that could be used as examples for others.

[4]Maor, Moshe, 'The Paradox of Managerialism' in *Public Administration Review*, January–February 1999, vol. 59, no. 1, p. 6.

[5]Simon, Herbert, 'Why Public Administration', in *Public Administration Review*, January-February 1998, vol. 58, vol. 1.

New Right

A political creed supporting conservatism and nationalism in reaction to both new left and the traditional conservatives.

Next Steps

Improving Management in Government: The Next Steps is nothing short of a revolutionary report produced on the British civil service in 1988, the only comparable report in its impact being the famous Northcote-Trevelyan Report of the nineteenth century. Popularly known by its shortened name *The Next*

Steps, it was produced by the Efficiency Unit headed by Lord Rayner (who was joint director of Marks and Spencer). As recommended by it, executive agencies have been established in Great Britain. India already has executive agencies in the form of attached and subordinate offices.

Nizamut Adalat

A court of criminal justice.

Nomology

That branch of a science which formulates laws from the general principles derived from experimentation as in psychology; science of the formulation of law.

Nomothetic

Law-giving.

Norms

Shared group expectations which apply to an individual. Norms apply to all group members—though not equally to all.

North-Eastern Council

The North-Eastern Council set up under the North-Eastern Council Act, 1970 is charged with the responsibility to formulate a coordinated regional plan with a view to secure balanced development of the north-eastern region comprising Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram. The main objective of the council is to work for an integrated development of the entire region.

Nuremberg Principles

The Nuremberg trial (1945–46) upheld the norm that anyone, regardless of the office he held or holds in government, can be punished directly under international law for violations of fundamental international rules, completely regardless of what the law of his country may say and what office he may have held in his country. Article 7 of the International Military Tribunal's Charter, under which the Second World War trials were held, says: 'The official position of defendents, whether as heads of state or responsible officials in government departments, shall not be considered as freeing them from responsibility or mitigating punishment'. The latest to apply these principles was the wartime tribunal set up in mid-nineties to focus on the crime of ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia. This was the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia, based in the Hague.

O

Official Secrets Act, 1923

In India, administrative secrecy began in the year 1889, when the first Indian Official Secrets Act was passed even though secrecy had been an official policy since 1843. From 1843 till the passage of the Indian Official Secrets Act, 1889, the Government of India practised secrecy by persuasion; it exhorted its civil servants not to disclose information about the functioning of the government to outsiders, including the press. Yet, the press had built informal bridges with the mandarins and made regular use of them, much to the occasional chargrin of the government. The *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, for instance, published, though in a garbled form, the famous Durand memorandum submitted in 1888, which considerably discomfited the government which then, moved fast to pass the first Official Secrets Act in 1889. The secrecy legislation was passed during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon despite the opposition of national leaders like Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Ashutosh Mukherjee. Yet, leakages did not completely stop. The *Bombay Chronicle* published Sir Charles Monro's secret minute. 'The penchant of the press for "scoops" continued: and with the passage of the Government of India Act, 1919, it was further sharpened'. There was, for example, the famous letter (the O'Donnel circular) written on 30 May 1922, by S.P. Donnel, the secretary in the home department on Indianisation of services, which was 'scooped' by *The Statesman* and published in its issue of 17 August 1922. Such actions evidently embarrassed the government which meanwhile perceived new challenges which pointed to the need for making the Official Secrets Act more comprehensive and severe. Communism, communalism, and the Japanese influence posed a new threat. The communists had, by this time, established themselves in Russia, and this period saw an abrupt escalation of Bolshevik activity, especially outside India and the fomenting of unrest by the communists in India, both directly and indirectly. Besides, the British army in India was facing serious trouble in the north-west at this time and there was fear of a rupture with Afghanistan.

Many prominent Muslim leaders had openly expressed their sympathy with the Afghan invaders and the army considered it unwise to disregard the possibility of fanatic Muslims in India carrying into action their sympathy with their co-religionists. Thirdly, there was an intensification of Japanese activities in the Indian Ocean, which needed to be monitored and countered.

To cope with the changed situation, the Official Secrets Act, 1923, was put on the statute book. Though the secrecy legislation was a 'catchall' and was extraordinarily drastic in its provision, trade in official secrets did not completely cease. In 1936, the viceroy, in a moment of exasperation, asked if the secrecy legislation of 1923 'provides a procedure, which is sufficiently summary, sufficiently manageable and equipped with sufficiently heavy penalties to deal adequately and swiftly with such endeavours to dispose of official information.' The bureaucracy examined the statute but came to the conclusion that a measure more effective than the Official Secrets Act, 1923, could not have been devised. It is this Official Secrets Act of 1923, amended in 1967 and made even more stringent, which provides the framework for dissemination of governmental information to the citizens in independent India.

It is, however, an anachronism in independent India, which derives power from the people. It severely restricts the flow of information from the government to the people and has thus the effect of removing a vital base for public discussion of issues and matters on which citizens must remain well-informed or which affect the national interest. Today, a democracy stands bereft without an unhindered flow of information of happenings within the public bureaucracy.

Passed on 2 April 1923, the Official Secrets Act consists of 15 sections, of which at least three are critically important sections—3, 5 and 7. Section 3 defines penalties for spying and has raised not so much as a murmur, being accepted for the country's security. Section 5 deals with wrongful communication, etc., of information; it, for example, states that if a person who is in possession of secret information which relates to or is used in a prohibited place or is likely to assist an enemy prejudice the security of the country or affect adversely relations with a friendly country, passes on the information to unauthorised persons, he will be guilty of offence punishable with three years' imprisonment or fine or both. Thus, in the whole Act, it is the

most obnoxious section, and a demand has been made to repeal it. Its repeal was demanded by the Second Press Commission set up after the internal emergency (1975–77) in the country. Section 7 deals with people interfering with officers or members of the armed forces; no person in the vicinity of any prohibited place shall obstruct or interfere with any police officer engaged in guard-duty of the prohibited place.

The government of independent India thus regulates the communication system with 'we the people of India' along the network of the colonial Official Secrets Act of 1923. What is more, instead of liberalising the Act after the attainment of independence, it has been made stiffer as result of an amendment introduced in 1967. In the process, Parliament not only further sanctified official secrecy but also weakened itself—as well as the society vis-a-vis the executive.

The Official Secrets Act, 1923, as amended in 1967 provides against two sets of events. First, it is directed against espionage and in this respect has practically left nothing to chance. The provision covering espionage is made extremely favourable to the state, and an individual can be punished even on the faintest of evidence. For instance, the Act says that a person may be presumed to have been in communication with a foreign agent if he has, either within or without (India), visited a foreign agent or, either within or without India, the name or address of or any other information regarding a foreign agent has been found in his possession.

The second set of events covered by the Act relates to the communication of official information to outsiders. The Act makes it a penal offence for any person holding office under the government to wilfully communicate any official information to any person other than a person whom he is authorised to communicate. What is more, it is equally an offence for any person to receive such information. In other words, the statute sets out to punish both the thief and the receiver of the stolen goods! This is contained in Section 5 of the Official Secrets Act, 1923, which as already referred to, is a catch—there is hardly anything which can escape its staggering provisions. It has been said that over 2,000 differently worded charges can be framed under Section 5. This section, moreover, covers all that happens within the government; all information which a civil servant happens to learn in the course of his duty is official, and is thus covered under it. Even more awesome, the Act makes a

mere receipt of official information an offence. The fact that the information might have been communicated to a person contrary to his desire is irrelevant and does not give him any immunity. Furthermore, Section 5 relates not only to civil servants but other persons also—for instance, contractors having dealings with the government.

It appears rulers are rulers, and even the Government of India does not appear to be ashamed of the Official Secrets Act, 1923. From the report of the Press Law Inquiry Committee it appears that the secrecy law has been invoked on quite a few occasions.

The Janata government (1977–79), which replaced the Congress rule, initially showed an inclination towards the relaxation of restrictions on the flow of administrative information and to this end it even set up in 1977, a working group consisting of senior secretaries to find out if the Official Secrets Act, 1923, could be modified so as to enable greater dissemination of official information to the public. After labouring for five months, the group came to the conclusion that there was nothing in the Official Secrets Act, 1923, which could be said to stand in the way of the flow of legitimate information to the people. This recommendation was not surprising. The very composition of the group was responsible for the kind of the verdict which ultimately emanated from it—The National Front.

The National Front, which swung into prominence in 1989, promised the people an open government in its election manifesto. It declared its intention to include this right as a fundamental right in the Constitution. Its election manifesto said: 'The National Front commits itself to full freedom of the media, autonomous corporations for televisions and radio and elimination of practices that lead to direct and indirect armtwisting of the press; people's right to information shall be guaranteed through constitutional provisions'. That it was not an empty promise was reiterated by V.P. Singh. In his first radio and television address to the nation on 3 January 1990, V.P. Singh, the prime minister, said: 'For increasing people's control and to curb corruption, if the government functions in full public view, wrongdoing will be greatly minimised. The Official Secrets Act will be amended and we will make the functioning of the government more transparent. Secrecy will be maintained only where the interests of national security and foreign relations so warrant. Free flow of information is a prerequisite for democracy. The right to information will be

enshrined in our Constitution'. Earlier on 20 December 1989, R. Venkataraman, president of India told the joint session of parliament, among other things that the Official Secrets Act could be suitably amended.

At the same time, most countries favoured transparency in government. Several western nations had already provided statutorily protected public access to information. The U.S.A. passed the Freedom of Information Act in 1964, amending it extensively in 1974. The Scandinavian countries, Austria, France, Holland, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, etc., had similar legislation, thereby, ensuring open government to their respective citizens. Even Great Britain had in 1989, liberalised its Official Secrets Act, first enacted in 1911.

Nor completely insignificant was the development in India. It was in 1981 that the people's insistence on the right to know found itself virtually raised to the status of a constitutional right in the celebrated S. Gupta vs. Union of India case, popularly known as the judges' case. The Supreme Court gave it a somewhat, unexpectedly, generous interpretation, as being a fundamental right to freedom of speech, on the principle that certain inarticulated rights are immanent and implicit in the enumerated guarantees in the Constitution. The Supreme Court observed: 'The concept of a transparent government is the direct emanation from the right to know which seems to be implicit in the right to free speech and expression guaranteed under Article 19(1)(9)'.

Among the major emerging trends in public administration, today, are decentralisation, citizen participation, redressal of citizen grievances, responsive administration, and transparency in governance. India is a democracy where sovereignty is explicitly vested in 'we, the people of India', but the citizens do not enjoy, even after fifty years of the birth of the Republic, any liberalised access to governmental information, much less right to information. Today, the government invades, practically, every sphere of human endeavour. Yet, its working has remained shrouded in mystery, which is an irony as every government coming into power since the nineties has been iterating its commitment to transparency. India has not yet enacted a freedom of information legislation. Equally is it true for the society that information is power; and it has not been uncommon on the part of the government to restrict and suppress information, control it and even manipulate it. Never was the citizen's need—and the resultant demand—for information thus

more pressing. The demand goes under the name of open government, right to information, right to know, transparency in government, etc. The flow of information to the larger society in India is governed by a statute known as the Official Secrets Act of 1923. But the secrecy legislation has a longer history.

On-the-Job Training

It is a process of teaching a fresh recruit in a productive work situation. On-the-job training gives the trainee practice and experience that cannot be obtained in a non-work situation. This method is more practical and thorough because the trainer's responsibility for job performance cannot be evaded. It is training imparted in the normal work situation.

Opportunity Cost

The concept of opportunity cost is an aid to decision-making by working out the value of the best alternative use of the required resources. To give an example—a student is studying for an examination. He benefits from studying but instead of studying he may go for a movie, for which he has to buy a cinema ticket. Opportunity cost in this case involves not only the cost of the cinema ticket but also the 'cost' of the benefit of study sacrificed. In other words, opportunity cost includes the expenditure on the cinema ticket plus more. Opportunity cost is a method of resource allocation.

Organisation

To carry out a job, an organisation has to be created. As jobs expand, so do organisations. They are a dominant element of modern society. Jobs are externally generated, set by the legislature, the chief executive and other hierarchically superior functionaries. An organisation splits a job into parts only to unite them later to form a coordinated whole. A job is done by human beings. An organisation is animated by people. The way people are managed ultimately determines how effective that organisation is.

Organisation Development (OD)

Organisation development is emerging as a new sub-field within the human relations school of organisation theory. A contribution of the behavioural sciences, OD optimises the effective- ness of the human resources in an organisation by the application of humanistic organisational principles. Organisation development was first developed in the United States in the forties of the last twentieth century by Kurt Lewin.

It is the planned organisation-wide change directed from the

top. The planned intervention is directed by behavioural scientists using behavioural insights. The objective of OD seeks to achieve the following:

1. It improves the interpersonal competence of individual members by promoting the employees' ability to get along with other members.
2. It satisfies legitimate human emotions in the organisation.
3. It deepens mutual understanding among employees.
4. It reduces tensions among members.
5. It builds up team management and inter-group cooperation.
6. It sharpens problem-solving capabilities of individual members.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

Of all the regional economic groupings in the world, the most effective is the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, better known by its abbreviated form, OECD. Established in 1961, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) replaced the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation which had been set up to implement the Marshall Plan for European economic reconstruction following the Second World War.

The chief objective of OECD is to promote economic and social welfare throughout the OECD area by assisting its member states in the formulation of appropriate policies and by coordinating these policies and to stimulate and harmonise its member's efforts in favour of developing countries. OECD originally drew its membership from the industrialised democracies of Europe, North America and Australia and New Zealand. New countries are queuing up for the membership to this organisation, which has attracted the appellation of 'rich-man's club'. Its members presently are:

Australia	Austria
Belgium	Canada
Denmark	Czech Republic
France	Finland
Greece	Germany
Italy	Ireland
Luxembourg	Japan
Mexico	The Netherlands
New Zealand	Norway
Portugal	Spain
Sweden	Switzerland
Turkey	United Kingdom
U.S.A.	

One may, thus, note that the OECD can no longer claim a region-specific membership: its membership is widely dispersed. But it is a very powerful economic

grouping backed by a strong secretariat consisting of some 1,500 employees, most being highly trained economists located in Paris, the headquarters of OECD. The OECD published numerous research studies which are of use to policy-makers. Its *Economic Outlook* is a regular publication containing well-researched surveys of individual countries. It has set up various committees and groups, even centres through which it works. The OECD is funded by its member-states' contributions.

O & M

O & M is the systematic study of the structure of organisation, its management and control, and its procedures and methods in order to increase efficiency. The term 'O & M' is used in two senses. In the wider sense it means organisation and management which includes the study of the entire process of management, namely, planning, organising, coordinating, motivating, directing and controlling. The term, when used in the restricted sense, means organisation and methods and is concerned with the organisation of public bodies and their office procedures with a view to improving both. Organisation and methods is the title now generally used to describe the study, by wholetime staff of the organisation of public bodies or private firms, and of the office procedures they adopt. The two elements of O & M work, thus, are organisation and methods. One of the important tasks of O & M work, undoubtedly, is to conduct reviews of an organisation with a view to streamlining it. However, O & M work is confined to improving only the 'internal' structure of the unit concerned. By tradition, the work of reorganising the structure at a higher level is not within the ambit of the O & M unit. Such work is left to more highly placed bodies like the Government Organisation Committee in the U.S.A., the Haldane Committee in Britain, and the one-man Ayyangar Committee in India. As regards methods, the O & M units are expected to carry out reviews, procedures and systems of doing work in order to improve them, and in doing so they adopt the well-known techniques of work simplification and work measurement. Used in the limited sense, O & M comes in the category of techniques like work study, operations research and automation which, in their own different ways, aim to improve administration. In brief, the usual functions of O & M are: the examination of the structure of the organisation under review and the study of administrative and clerical procedures and methods,

office mechanisation and equipment, office layout and working conditions. Work study deals with systematic activities concerned with the investigation, recording, measurement and improvement of the following work factors: what the operator does; the machine and equipment used; the materials and the working conditions. Operations research is the scientific approach and analysis of problems in an organisation to provide management with information for obtaining its most effective overall operations.[1]

The above, however, is too limited an interpretation of the term O & M. Many a time the term is used as an equivalent to management improvement. In this sense, the term O & M ceases to be a mere technique and becomes a function, namely, that of improving administration. It exists not only as a management tool—as an agent of top management—but also as a service for managers, auditors or others who need it because they have not themselves the time or the necessary expertise. This dual purpose of agent and service makes the position difficult. In some companies it is all agent, in others all service, but somehow both roles need to be combined. There are widely differing views not only about the content of O & M, but also concerning its relationship with other techniques concerned with improving effectiveness and efficiency.[2]

It was a broad role that Paul H Appleby envisaged for the O & M unit which he recommended to be set up in the Government of India:

> I recommend that the Government of India give consideration to the establishment of a central office charged with responsibility for giving both extensive and intensive leadership in respect to structure, management and procedures. At one level of highly technical and scientific sort, it would give attention to work measurement, work flow, office management, filing systems, space arrangements and the like; at another level it would be charged with general governmental structural studies and proposals. I should hope that at this level also it would have a charter of responsibility for the enhancement of democratic manner and method, within the bureaucracy and the public.[3]

[1]Milward, G.E. (ed.), *Organisation and Methods*, London, Macmillan, 1959, p. 253.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 252.

[3]Appleby Report, 1953, op. cit., p. 59.

Other Backward Classes (OBCs)

Backward classes other than scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, typically defined in caste terms.

Outsourcing

The process of contracting out indirect services.

P

Panchayat

A jury of arbitration usually consisting of five persons, whose decisions command respect and acceptance. This is the literal meaning of panchayat. The present-day panchayats are democratically elected bodies and enjoy politically determined functions. These are not to be confused with the traditional panchayat.

Panel Discussion

A passionate, friendly, intelligent conversation held in public under the direction of a leader, by a group of individuals possessing special knowledge of the topic.

Paradigm

Archetype. A specific case of phenomena which serves as a pattern for the study of other cases. A paradigm is an actual case, not a non-existent one though comparable to an 'ideal-type'. Nazi Germany is a paradigm of totalitarianism. A pattern, example or model.

Paradigm Shift

Greatly used term in public administration since the eighties. Paradigm shift marks the planned move away from the bureaucratic tradition of inflexible rules and regulations, centralisation of decision-making and rigid hierarchical structures. The goal is to lay down the foundation of greater dynamism, resilience and creativity in the civil service, customer friendliness and commitment to ethics and value. Paradigm shift shows a concern with outcomes and end products, the approach being result-oriented, more so at points of service delivery. This is called new public management.

Parkinson's Law

That work expands to occupy the time made available for its completion is attributed to C. Northcote Parkinson in his well-known work *Parkinson's Law* published in the year 1957.

That work expands to fill the time made available for its performance was known to Indian administration for a long time, and the real credit for propounding this 'law' should correctly go to Richard Tottenham, a member of the Indian Civil Service, the year being 1946. In his one-member Report on the Reorganisation

of Central Government, 1945–46, Tottenham observed:

> There is the view that the more staff you have the more work there will be, and that the best way of reducing work is to reduce staff ... if five officers have to work ten hours a day to deal with a certain subject, that subject will not be dealt with by ten officers working only five hours a day. Each new officer, to begin with, will have less work to do and more time to think. Thought produces new ideas and new ideas produce more work. The fact that some of this extra work may be valuable or even essential does not alter this truth. Your ten officers will soon be working six, eight or even ten hours a day and then there will be a demand for further increase.

Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings

The Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings was first set up in India in 1963. It consists of 22 members—15 elected by the Lok Sabha and 7 members of the Rajya Sabha, nominated by that house to the committee. Its members hold office for one year. The chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on Public Undertakings is appointed by the speaker from amongst the members of the committee.

It examines reports and accounts of the public undertakings specified in the fourth schedule of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business of Lok Sabha as well as reports of the undertakings by the comptroller and auditor-general of India on them and examines whether the affairs of the public undertakings are managed in accordance with the second business principle and prudent commercial practices in the context of their autonomy and efficiency. The committee does not inquire into matters of major government policy or matters of day-to-day administration pertaining to public undertakings.

Each year, the committee prepares a list of undertakings to be examined, asks ministries and public undertakings to furnish preliminary materials, prepares a list of points or questionnaires for written replies from ministries/undertakings concerned, invites memoranda from non- official organisations, seeks assistance of the comptroller and auditor-general of India in carrying its examination of the undertaking and prepares its report which is presented to Lok Sabha by the chairman. A copy of the report is simultaneously laid on the table of the Rajya Sabha.

Parliamentary Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

This committee has been in existence in India since 1973. It consists of 30 members, 20 from the Lok Sabha and 10 from the Rajya Sabha. The chairman is appointed by the speaker from amongst the members of the committee. The committee examines all matters concerning the welfare of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

The committee selects subjects within its terms of reference, asks ministries to furnish material on the subjects, prepares questionnaires after taking into consideration suggestions made by members, considers representations from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, considers reports by the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and reports on the working for welfare programmes for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The reports are presented to both the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

Parole

The Webster's Encyclopedia Unabridged English Dictionary of the English Language defines parole as: 'The conditional release of a person from prison prior to the end of the maximum sentence imposed'. It is a conditional release of a prisoner who has undergone a part of the sentence. A parole means that a prisoner serves a part of this sentence outside the jail under some conditions. Parole may be revoked and the prisoner on parole can be brought back to the prison to run the remaining period of his sentence.

Patwari

Village accountant. Patwari is a grass-root government functionary maintaining the records of fields and cultivators within his jurisdiction, which is a village. The Patwari's papers constituted the mainstay of the Indian administrative system, at least during the colonial rule.

Payback Period

An investment takes some minimum period to generate extra income to repay the additional capital and other expenses involved. Payback period is the time taken for the generation of profit.

Pay Commission

The First Central Pay Commission

The First Central Pay Commission was appointed in 1946, that is after the end of the Second World War. During the war the rise in the cost of living affected government servants a great deal. The government responded to the situation by giving dearness

allowances. The close of the war did not lower the cost of living to the level of pre-war days and in fact it became fairly clear that the high cost of living would persist far longer than was anticipated. The Government of India, then, decided that the question of the remuneration of the central government servants needed to be examined comprehensively in order to ensure that the pay scales suited the prevalent circumstances and to fix a living wage for the lowest-paid government servant. The commission submitted its report in 1947.

The pay commission consisted of persons drawn from the representatives of the people in the Indian legislature and from public men who have distinguished themselves in the economic, industrial and the educational spheres of life. Particular care was taken to have the interests of the working class also represented in the commission. Its chairman was a distinguished former judge of the Federal Court.

The commission worked for over a year. It examined both oral and written representations of government servants of all classes. The commission made the following recommendations:

1. The minimum pay fixed by the pay commission at the existing cost of living should not be less than Rs 50 a month inclusive of dearness allowance. The minimum for lower middle-class public servants including matriculates doing ministerial work should similarly be Rs 90 per month.
2. The central government servants should be given uniform pay scales all over India, and the existing practice of giving lower scales of pay in various provinces should be stopped. In the costlier towns where expenses are higher, the central government employees should, in addition, receive suitable compensatory and house-rent allowances.
3. The existing emoluments of government employees should be expressed in terms of basic pay and cost of living allowance. The latter should vary as the index of cost of living varies.
4. The cost of living and compensatory allowances in the higher ranges of pay should be gradually reduced and ultimately altogether eliminated as the pay rises for the reason that the higher salaries have greater margin for absorbing increases in the cost of living.
5. The classification of central government employees as

inferior, menial and subordinate should be removed and all government employees should be divided into four classes to be called class I, class II, class III and class IV.

These recommendations were immediately accepted by the government. The government's action on the commission's recommendation, was motivated by a desire to promote social equity 'which has long been overdue'. The earnings of the lower paid employees were raised and the difference between the minimum and maximum salaries of the government employees was reduced. The implementation of the recommendations cost the government an additional annual expenditure of Rs 35 crores. Of this the railways and the posts and telegraphs accounted for Rs 25 crores and Rs 3 crores respectively. Liaquat Ali Khan, the finance minister, added 'This extra cost is by no means an unappreciable burden on the resources of India at a time when every rupee that we can afford is required for development on all sides and we can only hope to carry this extra burden if certain conditions are fulfilled.' He continued, 'The most important condition is that every government employee should put his heart and soul into his work. This is for the good of the country and for the good of the man's own self-respect.' Liaquat Ali Khan continued: 'An able-bodied person who accepts alms has no self-respect, but a person who in return for his pay gives a full complement of work has understood what is meant by the "dignity of labour". It is only by this means that the raising of the general standard of living in this country can be achieved'.[1] This is the wisest observation that can be made by a finance minister on a pay commission's report.

The first pay commission fixed the lowest salary in the central government at Rs 70 per month, which was raised to Rs 80 by the second pay commission. The maximum salary fixed was Rs 3,000. The second pay commission recommended: 'We do think that in the determination of both the highest and the lowest salaries in the public service social considerations have a part to play and that the disparity between the two in the public service should be much smaller and outside.' It continued: 'This, in fact, is the present position; and the disparity would be reduced further as a result of our recommendations regarding the remuneration of the lowest grades of employees.'

The Second Pay Commission, 1957–59

The second pay commission —or the Commission of Enquiry

on Emoluments and Conditions of Service of Central Government Employees, which is how it is officially described, was set up in 1957 following an agitation by the government employees demanding a pay rise in the context of the rising price level. Headed by Jagannadha Das, judge of the Supreme Court of India, the commission submitted its 640-page report in 1959.

The central government employees numbered 14.45 lakh in 1948 when the first Varadachariar commission reported. The number increased to 17.73 lakh in 1957 showing an increase of 23 per cent, i.e. an average annual increase of 2.5 per cent. The highest increase (2 lakh) was in the railways, followed by the post and telegraphs (0.61 lakh). The annual cost of the central government staff was Rs 304 crore.

The Jagannadha Das commission examined the various principles of salary fixation and came to the conclusion that the structure of emoluments and conditions of service should be so designed as to ensure recruitment at different levels of persons with requisite qualifications and abilities and to keep them efficient. It did not approve the model-employer principle or the social position of a government employee principle nor did it accept the view that the lowest salary should be determined only by economic considerations. It also did not consider the principle of fair comparison with outside employment as suitable for full and detailed application but it was one of the important factors taken into account. The commission thus, recommended that the minimum and maximum salaries in government should be determined on a combination of social and economic considerations and sound and equitable internal relativities should constitute the most important principle to be followed in the determination of the intermediate salaries. The consumer price level should be among the factors relevant to pay fixation.

The second pay commission was of the view that the maximum salary in the government should not be determined 'merely on economic considerations, but should satisfy also a social test, both because of its intrinsic validity and because of its bearing on efficiency'. The commission thought that a combination of social and economic considerations (was) appropriate also in the determination of the highest salaries. The Islington commission principle was criticised as Richardian in spirit and based on the capitalist outlook of the nineteenth century. It made a few recommendations for streaming

administration but nothing came out of it.

The Third Pay Commission, 1970–73

The third pay commission was appointed in 1970 under the chairmanship of Raghubar Dayal, a retired judge of the Supreme Court. It comprised four members including the chairman, three members being drawn from the academic profession. The commission submitted its report of four volumes, in 1973.

The central government employees numbered 29.82 lakh in 1971, marking an increase of 12.45 lakh since 1957.

The Raghubar Dayal commission examined various existing view points on the principles of salary fixation and came to the conclusion which may thus be summarised: With regard to the low per capita income of the country, the acute unemployment situation, the state of finances of the central government and the likely repercussions of a high minimum wage on the finances of the state government, it was supremely important that maximum restraint should be exercised in determining the new pay structure. Accordingly, the minimum remuneration for the wholetime central government employees at the start of the career should be fixed at Rs 185 per month. The commission recommended the minimum monthly remuneration of Rs 185 to a civil government employee which the government raised to Rs 196 at the time of implementation of the commission's recommendation. The maximum recommended was Rs 3,500. The commission recommended no change in the maximum salary, this being Rs 3,500 per month. The commission thus took into account the paying capacity of the nation and forsook the view that government servants are a favoured group in the society. This commission was of the view that the government being the dominant employer should formulate its own principles of wage fixation suited to its needs, the true test being whether government service was 'attracting and retaining the persons it needs and they (were) reasonably satisfied with the pay and other conditions of service taken as a whole'. It opined that minimum wage should be fixed according to 'social norms so as to ensure a reasonable standard of living without adhering to conditions of supply and demand'.

The commission rationalised the grading system in the government asserting that posts in various departments, which are substantially comparable as regards duties and responsibilities, mode of recruitment and qualification

standards, were to be grouped into common category posts. The commission recommended long pay scales especially where promotion outlets were limited. By the same token, for posts filled by promotion, shorter pay scales were recommended.

The significant recommendation of the Raghubar Dayal commission was about lateral entry into government posts. Persons outside government who have gained experience in the various vocations or who possess specialised qualifications relevant to the task in hand should be inducted into the middle-management levels of the civil service. The Indian personnel system is a closed one and this recommendation was like a breath of fresh air to it. But it was rejected, the system being so bureaucratic.

The Fourth Central Pay Commission, 1983–86

The Fourth Central Pay Commission was appointed by the Government of India in July 1983 and it submitted its report in June 1986. Its chairman was P.N. Shinghal, a retired judge of the Supreme Court and besides had four members including a member-secretary.

The number of central government employees in India has continued to rise primarily because newer responsibilities were being added to the government, necessitating the recruitment of additional persons. The central government employees, 17.37 lakh in 1957, increased to 29.82 lakh in 1971 and 37.87 lakh in 1984. The central government employees rose by 71.7 per cent between 1957 and 1971. During the period 1957 and 1984, the additional posts that were created totalled 20.50 lakh.

The Shinghal commission saw a need for periodic revision of pay scales. The aim of such revision was not only to take note of changes that may have taken place in the relevant facts and circumstances bearing on pay scales but also to fill any errors or omissions that may have occurred in the earlier pay determination.

The fourth pay commission rationalised the pay scales. Pay scales which existed in the eighties numbering 153 were reduced to 36 ranging from a minimum pay of Rs 750 to Rs 9,000 per month. These scales reflect the distinct differences in responsibility at various levels in government. The commission felt that any post created in future should be placed in one or the other scales as recommended by it. The proliferation of scales must be avoided. The additional expenditure on the Shinghal commission recommendations was of Rs 1,280 crore annually.

The commission also made suggestions to improve efficiency in government. It highlighted the importance of training of civil servants, especially in management techniques. It examined the issue of efficiency of the government but over-simplified the problem. It would be better to read what it has to say on efficiency:

> The need for a reasonably well-paid and contented civil service is obvious for it is an important input in national development. For the same reason, there is need for proper motivation of the employees, and one way of doing so is to look after them properly so that they may to able to give their best in the service of the country. We suggest that government may consider introducing a cadre of personnel officers and advisers in major departments for this purpose. Their main function should be to have continuing interaction with the employees and to acquaint themselves with their problems so that they may be remedied as early as possible. They should also be able to assist the employees whenever their help is required in seeking, redressal of their grievances and removal of other difficulties.

The commission made a number of observations many of which cannot easily be reconciled with each other. One should look into some of them:

1. The principle of model employer is difficult to adopt as a concept for determining pay of central government employees. There is, however, no reason why the state should not play the role of a good employer in the field of pay determination.
2. It cannot be gainsaid that the requirement of pay equal to the value of the work, is a truism which should hold the field.

— Civil service is a very different kind of organisation and the pay determination system for that service must differ in important respects from those prevailing in the private sector. Comparisons are hard to make, because of the difficulty of comparators.

— Another consideration in determining pay is the level of productivity of the post or service. There is considerable difference in the nature of employment in the private sector, the public sector and the government. So, a method of pay determination, which is suitable for one type of employment may not suit the other.

— Pay structure of employees has to be correlated to the nature and culture of the employment, the degree of satisfaction it generates both to the employees and to the others—the totality of what it takes and what it gives to the employee—the resources of the employer, public assistance and satisfaction that the service renders, etc.
— The pay of a post should be such as to attract persons of the required qualifications and calibre to fill it. But the element of pay would not, by itself, be decisive of what government has to offer at the counter. Fringe benefits along with other conditions of service like security of tenure ... make up the pay packet. Even the social status which the employment carries in society may weigh with a candidate in making his choice.
— The pay should be sufficient and satisfactory enough to motivate the employee for the efficient performance of his duties and responsibilities with a sense of rectitude.
— The salary should be satisfactory enough to retain the employee in his job and encourage him to seek his promotional career in his service.
— The salary structure should be coherent and should adequately reflect the substantial difference in the nature and responsibilities of the various posts. It should provide satisfactory incentives to performance and promotion.
— Government can, and should, forge stronger links between the performance of a government employee and the pay drawn.
— Fairness of payment to government employees has to satisfy a double test. It has to be fair from the point of employees as well as the people they serve.

The Fifth Central Pay Commission Report, 1997

To carry out its multifarious tasks and responsibilities a modern state necessarily employs a large number of public functionaries possessing diverse competences. As these personnel have got to be remunerated by the state in return for their labour, the taxpayers of the country have to foot the bill. It is axiomatic that the taxpayers expect full value for the money they part with to run the country's public administration. It is, therefore, built into the very logic of the public service that the

state hires an absolutely minimum number of persons essential for the business of government and, secondly, those on the public payroll work with utmost efficiency keeping ever in mind the public interest. For fixing the public compensation system and for attending to the above-stated task of reforming of governance, India historically appoints a pay commission, generally at an interval of ten years or so.

The First Central Pay Commission was appointed in 1946, under the chairmanship of Srinivasa Varadachariar (ex-judge, Federal Court). It reported in 1947, taking just one year to complete its task. The second one was set up in 1957, under the chairmanship of Jagannadha Das and it submitted its report two years later, in 1959. The Third Pay Commission under Raghubar Dayal was established in 1970 and it finalised its report three years later (in 1973). The Fourth Central Pay Commission under P.N. Shinghal took four years, having been set up in 1983 and its report submitted in 1987. The present pay commission, the fifth one, was established in 1994 and it took three years to complete its task. The report was submitted to the government in January 1997 and the latter took six months to announce its decision in July 1997.

The time span taken by successive commissions has been increasing, which is largely the result of increased workload reflected in growing numbers in the public service with which they have had to deal. But when a pay commission takes as many as three years in completing its task of public-pay fixation, something is basically wrong in the mechanism: ideally, a pay commission itself should be a model of quick decision-making. Ordinarily, a pay commission is set up when the civil service morale is already sagging—a situation which must be attended to within a reasonable time frame.

It is erroneous to believe that a pay commission's only brief is determination of public pay fixation. The terms of reference of the Fifth Pay Commission did oblige it to suggest suitable structure of emoluments and conditions of service of central government employees. At the same time, the pay commission was asked to suggest rationalisation and simplification of the existing work methods to promote efficiency in administration, reduce paper work and optimise (which in India means reduce) the size of the government machinery. This has been the case with the earlier four pay commissions also. One must, thus, note that though named as a pay commission, this body is

entrusted with twin responsibilities—to determine the public pay scales and, equally important, to suggest measures of reform. A pay commission, in other words, is also an administrative reform committee. The two tasks supplement each other. Out of 2,144 pages in which the fifth pay commission report is written, 223 are devoted to public service management. This means that nearly one-tenth of the report is purported to deal directly with administrative reform. A large number of its recommendations in this section are admittedly in the form of non-relevant sentiments, having been copied as it were from a cheap public relations leaflet. Basic issues of public administration being presently discussed in all industrialised and industrialising societies have not been tackled. The question of administration accountability has been sidelined. Great Britain has given to the society a citizens charter. Even a third world country like Malaysia has a clients charter. In India the citizen counts for nothing in the eyes of public administration. The fifth pay commission left untouched the colonial-inherited administrative system. The commission did nothing to restructure the civil service to bring it in harmony with the developmental and promotional goals of new India. It perpetuates the hegemony of a particular service which is a hangover of the colonial era. Too much job security has made the civil service complacent: the pay commission should have the 'hire and fire' system of recruitment. Similarly, the pay body did nothing to delink the public undertaking managers' salary from that of the bureaucrats. A pay body working in the nineties must be motivated by triple objectives—cut the size of the bureaucracy, remunerate them well and make them efficient and productivity-oriented. None has received the pay body's attention.

The 'pay and perks' part of the report has gained almost total acceptance by the government. The commission recommended a rather sharp rise in public salaries (Rs 750 becomes Rs 2,540 while Rs 9,000 is raised to Rs 30,000). It argued that greater efficiency and downsizing was to balance the outgo. The government has even gone further. Four categories of personnel—the armed services, scientific personnel, police personnel and lower-level civilian employees—are actually to receive more than the commission's recommendations. It is a pity that the government out-smarted the fifth pay commission by adopting an even more populist approach. The 'pay and perks' part of the report was not only quickly

accepted but also improved upon. As a result of the commission's recommendations, all classes of public servants are to be benefitted but it must be remembered that the new pay scales will increase the salary differentials between public functionaries at different ends of the income ladder. The higher-level civil servants will be benefitted much more than class IV employees, which the government justifies by asserting that this reflects the trend in the private sector. While every section has gained, the highest beneficiary is the Indian Administrative Service.

Of immediate concern to the society is the commission's view on reduction of the size of the public bureaucracy. A government job is widely viewed as a kind of employment-generating scheme. At present, India is suffering from a highly bloated bureaucracy. Its size in 1947 was 14.45 lakh, which increased to 17.73 lakh in 1957, and to 29.82 lakh in 1970. In 1994, the central bureaucracy comprised 38.76 lakh personnel which is too big a number when it is remembered that the Constitution of India entrusts the major programmatic responsibilities to the states. Because independent India began with a small number of public servants, an initial increase was inevitable. But this does not justify the swollen size of the central bureaucracy at present. Huge bureaucracies in spheres, which are also the states' direct concern under the Constitution, lead to unwanted duplication of labour and thwarting of the lower-level initiative.

Downsizing the administrative machinery is therefore, an urgent requirement of Indian administration. The fifth pay commission's recommendation of immediate abolition of the backlog of 3.5 lakh already vacant posts only maintains the status quo in regard to numbers and is not a positive measure of administrative reform. This amounts to saving on what the government was not already spending. Even otherwise, the decision to abolish the vacant 3.5 lakh posts is uncertain. The government talks about a re-think if the posts are found to be necessary, which only confirms its lack of sincerity in its decision. Secondly, the pay body recommended that further employment of junior staff should be frozen, while there should be a sharp cutback in the intake of executives. This is at best a pious hope being too general a recommendation. It recommended a downsizing of numbers by thirty per cent in a ten-year period. Simultaneously, it recommended what it loves to call 'reinventing' the government office by adoption of level

jumping and delayering and by reducing large, unwieldy sections to small, businesslike desks, etc. The government has not taken a categoric decision on this recommendation: it has postponed its consideration. Even otherwise, how can such a fragile coalition bind the future government? Besides cutting down the public personnel by thirty per cent in a ten-year period is a modest level of pruning. The government has not given evidence of any courage to stand up and fight in the face of possible employee opposition.

In a country where work ethics is already low and the annual calender is studded with too many holidays, the five-day week, introduced by the Rajiv Gandhi government in the mid-eighties, was a retrograde step, and the pay commission recommended reversion to the six-day week. This was rejected for fear of staff opposition. Similarly, the commission recommended slashing down of the number of holidays allowed to government employees: it wanted the number of holidays to be reduced to 3 and restricted holidays to about 16. This did not gain acceptance though the number of casual leave has been reduced to 8 from the existing 12.

'Overtime' has become a racket in government, and the prevalent view among the lower-category personnel is that regular salary is their birthright and it is the overtime which motivates them to work. Very rightly, the fifth pay commission recommended its abolition. The lower-level functionaries have converted overtime into an art of wasting regular working hours to earn inflated overtime benefits. The government has rejected this sensible recommendation being apparently apprehensive about protest from lower-level functionaries.

The public expenditure on salaries and allowances of government servants is already disproportionately high. The announced pay and allowances hike is to cost Rs 11,250 crore more in 1997–98 and an additional Rs 8,000 crore each year thereafter. This estimate is on the lower side. Even otherwise, financial costs of the accepted recommendations is staggering. While exhibiting its generosity the government of the day has not been true to its responsibility: it knows it will not be around to account for the financial implications of its decisions. The generosity reflected in its modifications of the commission's recommendations would alone cost Rs 2,500 crore more annually. The state will have to cough up nearly Rs 3,400–3,500 crore on account of additional pay out on pensions as retirement age is kept constant. The real question is

where the funds will come from to foot a Rs 10,500 crore bill.

The commission's hike in the salaries of the civil government employees sets in motion a chain reaction. The state governments find themselves placed under mounting pressure to satisfy the salary demands from their employees. In short, there will be pay hikes all over India with resultant inflationary pressures on the economy. Fiscal deficit is bound to increase despite the disinvestment commission and the voluntary disclosure of income scheme. One must also remember, most of the states are already in the red. It is not known how they will mobilise the necessary wherewithal to meet new demands.

A pay commission is a solemn social contract between the public servants and the taxpayers (which practically means the entire society). The society agrees to pay its public functionaries salaries and necessary perks to keep them in what is called 'rugged comfort'. In return, the public functionaries assure efficiency in administration, 'reducing redundant paper work and optimising the size of the government machinery'. The pay commission report is thus, a package deal and no government is morally justified in picking up parts in isolation and announcing their acceptance. The various recommendations are logically woven and are thus well integrated. Since the decision is ad hoc this is only an invitation to dissatisfied groups of employees to mount an agitation and exert pressure for further concessions. The implementation of the pay body's recommendations is selective, which only increases the public expenditure but leaves the bureaucracy unchanged.

A pay commission provides an opportunity to the government to initiate hard measures of administrative reform. By picking up only the pay and perks part, and totally ignoring the reforms dimension, the government has missed the opportunity to raise productivity. A weak-kneed coalition can hardly do better!

[1]Liaquat Ali Khan's broadcast from the All India Radio on 20 May. See *Indian Information*, 1 July 1947, pp. 16–17.

Pay Fixation

Pay or salary is a fixed compensation periodically paid to a person for regular work. Pay is a regular payment, usually monthly, made to employees as their contributions to the services of the organisation. It is an important element in directing efforts and performance towards organisational goals. It is a motivator to organisational goals.

The classic criteria for salary fixation was enunciated by the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India (1912–15) under the chairmanship of Lord Islington. The principle was: 'The only safe criterion is that Government should pay so much and so much only to their employees as in necessary to obtain recruits of the right stamp and to maintain them in such a degree of comfort and dignity as will shield them from temptation and keep them efficient for the term of their services'. The Islington commission formulated the procedure for interpretation of this principle for various services. It upheld the norm of equal pay for equal work and thus rejected the then prevalent practice of dual rates between natives and the British. The Lee commission (1924) upheld the Islington formula adding at the same time, 'the disparity of remuneration between a commercial and an official career has become so conspicuous and so discouraging to the government servants that in fact something should be done without delay to restore contentment'. This, however, was moderated by cost of living and the ability to pay factors. The recommendations of the Islington and Lee commissions constituted the cornerstone of pay policy in India during the colonial rule.

The first pay commission of independent India, reporting in 1947, recommended that the minimum pay in public service should not be less than a 'living wage'. On the highest pay the commission was of the view that it should be kept 'within a reasonable ceiling consistent with essential requirements of recruitment and efficiency.

The Islington formula takes a very narrow economic perspective and has been decried by all pay commissions. Other major principles of salary fixation are—

1. the principle of equal pay for equal work;
2. the principle of fair comparison;
3. the principle of model employer.

Each of these principles has a modicum of relevance in pay determination. But the fifth pay commission (1994–98) enumerated a few more principles to supplement them such as the intrinsic value of job, the need to link smaller entities to larger entities, the need to delink pay from position in the hierarchy, and the need to be even-handed in justice towards the lowest and the highest paid functionaries.

The principles of salary fixation claim interest and consideration. But one must note, that the pay system in public administration is complex and intricate and has evolved over a long period of

time. No pay commission can alter it radically thus remaining more an exercise in continuity than bold change. The pay commission is content to observe the incrementalist approach to pay fixation. It operates within a given framework of pay structure with its bottom and ceiling. The existing pay system cannot be completely overlooked. Generally speaking, biology fixes the bottom salary and the top salary is determined by ideology which a country espouses. By biology is meant the basic requirements of an individual worker multiplied by four (the size of the family), converted into monetary terms. The highest salary is ten times the bottom salary, which is a move towards egalitarianism, an ideology.

One must thus, conclude that the minimum basic salary fixed by the Fifth Pay Commission is Rs 2,440 and the Rs 26,000 as the salary of a secretary—maintaining the minimum-maximum ratio of 1:10.7. The incrementalist rate thus developed is then applied to all pay levels and categories. This approach is practically sound: it has something to offer to every level and does not satisfy any group completely.

Pendleton Act, 1883

The Pendleton Act, 1883, in the U.S.A., established the U.S. Civil Service Commission. Besides, it provided:

1. Open competitive examination for government jobs;
2. Probationary periods for new appointees;
3. Legal protection from outside political pressures;
4. Overseeing by the commission oversight of departmental personnel decisions;
5. Presidential power to expand or contract the merit system in federal employment.

Pension

Pensioners in the Government of India number more than 1.15 million, the civil and defence pensioners respectively being 0.355 million and 0.75 million. When the pensioners of the state and local governments are included, the number may well be in the vicinity of 2 million. Most of the pensioners are in the age group of 60 and 70. Two theories govern the pension system. According to the state, pension is awarded by the employer for the loyalty of service on the part of the employee: pension is the recognition of good work on the part of the employee. Thus, pension is discretionary, and not a right of the employee. The other theory from the employees' view point is that pension is the deferred wage and thus the employee's right. The country's judiciary is inclined

towards the latter viewpoint. In the case of Dr Uma Agarwal vs. State of U.P. dated 22 March 1999, the Supreme Court of India said 'grant of pension is not a bounty but a right of the government servant'.[1]

[1]Quoted in *All India Service Law Journal*, vol. 72, November 1999, Part III.

People's Participation in Public Administration

See People's Participation Management.

People's Participation Management

Participation, vital to good governance, is defined as 'deep and continuous involvement in administrative process with the potential for all involved to have an effect on the situation'. (Chery/S. King, Kathryn M. Feltey and Bridget O'Neill, 'The Question of Participation: Toward Authentic public Participation in Public Administration', in *Public Administration Review*, vol. 58, no. 4, July–August 1998, p. 320). Participation is not a one-shot deal but is an on-going, active involvement.

The latter part of the twentieth century has shown a growing concern towards enlarging the role of citizens in the process of decision-making. Political leadership has come to feel the need for it in view of the prevalent citizen's apathy towards public administration even in a political system based on democracy. The traditional institutional channels available to the people have been discovered to be painfully inadequate and insufficient in its having an impact on the substance of public policies. T 2he reasons for this may be many. One could be poor planning or execution. The second could lie in administration being based on expertise and professionalism and thus remote from the people. There could be other factors also.

A greater role for citizens in matters of decision-making is demanded as a result of their diminished trust in public administration leading to a demand for more accountability. Equally significant is the realisation in the society that decision- making without citizen participation is bound to be ineffective. In other words, 'post-modern' (Frederickson's phrase) public administration is seeking a firm shift in the governance process entailing changed relationship of which people's participation is but one part.

People's participation in public administration is part of the larger process, emphasising the values of representation, responsiveness and accountability to the people of the country. This ordains that people

be provided with planned means for participating in both the policy-making and policy implementing process in public administration. This enhances the administrative understanding of, and responsiveness to the public's concerns. This also obliges the administrators to explain their actions to the public and thus concede to people's right to information. One may, thus, see citizen's participation in administration contributing to transparency in administration. More specifically, one may cite the following advantages flowing from citizen participation in administration:

1. An absence or inadequacy of people's participation in governance erodes the government's capacity to be representative or responsive.
2. Participation in public administration promotes better understanding between government and the people, which has an integrative influence in the society.
3. Participation evokes a feeling among the people at large that they together control the government, which adds to the moral authority of the government vis-a-vis citizens.
4. People's participation keeps the governance legitimate and thus deepens their propensity towards obedience. In other words, people's respect of the laws of the land is strengthened by participative processes in administration.

When all is said and done, the fact remains that there are many more factors pointing to the need for people's participation in public administration. Public administration today encounters nume- rous problems which do not seem to have ready or definitive solutions. Today, a new class of problems has arisen baffling public administrators. To use a term, these are 'wicked' problems with no permanent solutions but which can be tackled only by temporary and imperfect solutions. Administrators seek solutions of such stubborn problems from the citizens, who while helping them with solutions often create new sets of problems too. Today, we are living in the midst of a transition. Most administrators think that decision-making is their exclusive prerogative. But the citizens, too, have come to believe that they have a right to greater involvement in administration. An encounter between these two sets of perception, inevitable in a transitional phase, creates tension on points of contact. Even when they feel the need for citizen participation, they cannot find a way to accomodate the public into the decision-making process.

One may, thus, sum up the case for citizen participation in public administration in William Morrow's words:

> Contemporary policies ... has been marked by a revolution seeking more direct participation by citizens in policy-making. In contrast to the tendency for institutions to represent organised interests, this resurgence of participatory democracy seeks direct access to decision centres and involvement in decision-making regardless of any connections or affiliations that the participants might have with organised interests. In fact, the participation movement has stressed representation of unorganised publics that have been given only casual concern in policy arenas.

People's participation in administration is not free flowing. It has its definite barriers, one of them being the existence of widespread inertia in the larger society resulting in apathy and passivity. Also, under the name of people's participation what may happen is a situation which Selznick calls, 'cooption'. Citizen participation does not necessarily lead to the leaders representing their constituency (whatever these be): rather, they strike a tie-up with the local bureaucracy which may silence them. The representatives, when interfacing with the bureaucrats represent their individual interests, not the constituent's cause. It has also been disclosed that the citizen participation, when not prudently directed, may add to unnecessary delay in decision-making and implementation and increase red tape.

It, therefore, follows that genuine citizen participation presupposes radical mental restructuring in the larger society to make it effective. An obvious need exists to educate the people to make them aware of their rights no less their obligations in the society. Along with this is the urgency for proper selection of people's representatives. It is also essential that openness should mark public administration of the country. 2Administrative transparency counters maladministration.

One final warning. Care must be taken to ensure that under the name of citizen participation, the policy underlying programmes and plans must not get subverted and sabotaged. Local vested interests emerge under the label of citizen participation and become assertive of their narrower interests, which has the ultimate effect of nullifying the overall policy. The fate of land reform in some of the states in India shows the truth of this observation.

Citizen participation in administration is thus, a basic political

process for promoting public bureaucracy's representativeness, responsiveness and accountability to the ultimate sovereign of the land, namely the people. Yet, the fact is that participation is inevitably coloured by the political perspective. This may occasionally create tensions for day-to-day administration. It is, therefore, necessary to have a sharper and deeper understanding between the public and the public administration. Woodrow Wilson, acclaimed as the father of the discipline of public administration in the U.S.A., has rightly observed in this connection as early as in 1887:

> The problem is to make public opinion efficient without suffering it to be meddlesome. Directly exercised, in the oversight of the daily details and in the choice of the daily means of government, public criticism is of course, a clumsy nuisance, a rustic handling of delicate machinery. But as superintending the greater forces of formative policy alike in politics and administration, public criticism is altogether safe and beneficent, altogether indispensable. Let administrative study find the best means for giving public criticism this control and for shutting it out from all other interference.

Wilson correctly pointed out when he observed: 'In order to make an advance at all we must instruct and persuade a multitudinous monarch called public opinion. As we all know, public opinion is a constraint and a stimulus for a large number of administrative actions'.

Participative management, which is but an integral part of participative administration, is a reality of tomorrow, claim many administrators as well as scholars. They contend that public organisations are sure to look different in future because contemporary organisations based as they are on yesterday's social traits and values are outdated or are fast becoming so. The call is for participative management or organisation. This kind of organisation has the following features:

1. Free, frank and full communication regardless of hierarchical level.
2. A reliance on consensus rather than voting or other customary forms of coercion or compromise for conflict-management.
3. Primacy of technical competence and knowledge, not prerogatives of power or hierarchy.
4. Congeniality of environment conducive to task-oriented acts as well as emotional expression.

5. Prevalence of a mental attitude viewing conflict between the organisation and the individual as inevitable and a disposition to mediate the conflict on rational grounds.
6. Freedom to experiment and innovate.
7. Maximum transparency in decision-making.

Performance Appraisal

Performance appraisal is a mechanism of identifying, monitoring and developing human performance in organisation. Performance appraisal is the assessment of how the personnel in an organisation are performing with a view to determine whether they are suitable for the next higher rank in the organisation or only fit to be retained in the existing rank. It also discloses whether an employee is worth keeping even in the present rank.

Performance Budgeting

The performance budget marks the management orientation in the budget. It was first developed in the U.S.A., having been recommended by the Second Hoover Commission (1949). In 1950, President Harry Truman prepared the first full-fledged federal performance budget in the U.S.A. This kind of budget links the performance level in the government organisation with a specific budget amount. The traditional line-item budget is content to specify expenditure to be incurred on individual items. In other words, it puts only input-related questions. The performance budget is an advancement. It asks both input-related and output-related questions. The traditional budget would specify the expenditure against a specific item, say, paper clips—but in a performance-related budget the expenditure on paper clips would be related to the number of sets of papers made by using these clips.

In India, the introduction of performance budget was recommended by the Administrative Reforms Commission in its report on financial administration, submitted in 1969. The ARC was of the view that departments of the government dealing directly with development programmes should introduce the performance budget. A programme and activity classification should be made for each department. Besides presenting the financial needs of those programmes and activities, the expenditure should be classified in terms of 'object', e.g. 'establishment'. This should be followed by a narrative explanation justifying the financial requirements under each activity. The explanation should include

information on targets, achievements, relevant workload factors, comparative performance over the years, etc. It should be accompanied by the demands for grants, which will continue to serve as the medium through which appropriate control is exercised. Performance budget was introduced in India in the early seventies. The kind and volume of information required for performance budget is not available in India, thereby impeding the flow of results expected of it. The spirit of the performance budget is missing, and the consequence is that the change has been merely the pouring of old wine into new bottles.

Performance Contract

Public enterprises have been set up in various countries, including India, with high expectations, but, they have on the whole turned out to be among the major problem areas of public administration. National planners feel disappointed at their poor track record. Public enterprises too complain about increasing political and bureaucratic interferences in their functioning. After a long search, a way out has been found. Performance contract is being viewed as an effective device for improving the performance of public enterprises. This instrument has been designed in the background of persistently loss-making public enterprises. The management of the interface between the government and the public enterprises is an important problem. The enterprises generally complain of remaining deprived of operational autonomy to carry out effectively their assignment responsibilities. They complain of too much governmental interference. The government, on the other hand, highlights the need for completely ensuring accountability on the part of the public enterprises. Both the needs are to be reconciled.

Performance contract offers an ideal solution. It is a mechanism for determining enterprise performance and a framework for assessing productivity. According to a standard source, performance contract is a contract between the owner of an enterprise on the one hand, and the management of the enterprise on the other, where they set out certain targets/results to be achieved in a given timeframe. It also enumerates the mutual obligations of the two parties in achieving the targets set in the contract.[1] Such contracts are known as *contract de performance*, memorandum of understanding, performance agreement, letter of agreement, etc.

It is well known that any public enterprise in India has been given a multiplicity of objectives. This leads to, or becomes an alibi

for, poor financial performance, because the enterprise is saddled with several goals and it is not able to accomplish any one of them very well. While it may have done very well in achieving some of the objectives its poor performance in achieving other goals goes against it. A performance contract resolves the problem of multiple objectives by listing the preferred objectives which the owner, namely the government, would like the public enterprise to achieve. It is equally true for public enterprises to serve several principals (or masters), each looking at it from its specific angle, which adds to their worry. Performance contract straightens the relationship.

A public enterprise is often put under an obligation to promote a definite social philosophy. But the pursuit of this goal may eat into its financial results. A prior knowledge of the extent to which profit-making could be traded off against the particular social goal achieved through a performance contract (MOU) clarifies the public enterprises' objectives.

The memorandum of understanding, as it is called in India, increases the enterprise's autonomy. The MOU is a mechanism to streamline the interface between the government and the enterprise. It forces the government to think and to clearly lay down what it expects the enterprise to accomplish in a year. The MOU is thus an assurance against governmental interference in the day-to-day operations of the enterprise.

At the same time, the MOU compels the enterprise to undertake advance planning and thinking. The enterprise makes known its requirements of assistance from the government right at the start of the year. By spelling out the mutual obligations of both the enterprise and the government, the former is enabled to function freely and independent very much like a private-sector enterprise. This is why an MOU is viewed as a powerful alternative to privatisation of public enterprises. The MOU forces an enterprise to prepare a corporate plan; indeed, a corporate planning is a systematic process of formulating long-term strategies to achieve defined corporate objectives. It serves several purposes. It has all the advantages which planning claims. Besides, it equips the enterprise to meet the challenge of change and can thus reap profit from new opportunities. Corporate planning presupposes the existence of an effective management information system and the planning mechanism must have a built-in control system. Corporate planning disciplines the entire

enterprise and a close monitoring is its essential component.

There are two principal patterns of MOUs:

1. The French-based system;
2. The signalling system.

The French contract plan does not allocate weights to targets and as such all targets enjoy equal emphasis. This system prevails in France, Latin America and a few former French Colonies such as Morocco. Because it does not allocate weights to various targets, this plan encourages subjectivity in evaluation.

The signalling system, the second type, originated in Pakistan and South Korea and is popular in Asia and Africa. The signalling system is based on the principle of motivating the management to make the best use of the capital stock in hand. It, thus, stimulates management to maximise returns on the sunk cost. For this, the formulation of a rational evaluation is absolutely essential. The better-performing enterprise is rewarded a performance bonus, which is an incentive system.

The performance-contract system first originated in France in the sixties. Pakistan and South Korea too adopted it where it began to be known as the signalling system. India introduced the performance-contract system in 1986–87. India, originally adopted the French system of performance contracts but the recently signed MOUs follow the signaling system. With the support extended to it by the World Bank, the performance-contract system has become a principal measure of performance of public enterprises.

The MOU is a rational evaluation system which studies performance in all its aspects thus including both commercial and non-commercial criteria of performance. It clarifies autonomy and accountability of the enterprise and thus ensures result-oriented management. It is an annual plan but it is an integral long-term corporate plan, winning the acceptance of both the government and the public enterprise. It clearly lays down their mutual obligations and responsibilities based on mutual discussion. The government has signed MOUs with a large number of enterprises and it is expected to cover all the public enterprises very shortly.

To sum up, performance contract facilitates performance evaluation and figures high on the reform agenda for public enterprises in the third world. Performance contract is a contract between an enterprise and its management setting out certain explicit targets or results to be achieved within a specified time frame. It also outlines the commitments of both the

sides for the achievement of the targets.

Performance contract claims many advantages:

1. It is an effective management tool for enforcement of accountability, which at present is missing in most public enterprises in the country.
2. Public enterprises are at present cluttered with multiple objectives and are subject to multiple-control mechanisms. Performance contract comes as a great boon in such a situation. It measures performance in quantitative terms.
3. It is participatory in nature. Targets are set up through mutual negotiations and discussions and mutual obligations are worked out.
4. Since performance is evaluated in terms of results achieved, the evaluation report must necessarily record bureaucratic and political interferences, if any, in the internal functioning of the public enterprises. The fear of exposure and publicity will make these interferences much more difficult.

[1]Commonwealth Secretariat: Performance Contracts, London, Commonwealth Secretariat, 1995, p. 1.

Performance Review

A performance review or evaluation is the appraisal of job performance of employees with a view to using the results as basis of training, promotion, (including demotion), administrative transfer, even retirement. A performance evaluation measures productivity in administration. This is getting increasingly emphasised in public administration today, and the new paradigm is known as new public administration (NPA).

Peshwa

Maratha chief minister. The literal meaning of the term is 'a leader', 'a guide'.

Pesh Dast

Office assistance under the Mughal rule.

PSV

The abbreviated form of 'private secretary to Viceroy'. He was the personal choice of the viceroy and was drawn from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service. The post carried enormous influence. The distinguished historian Vincent Smith thus writes about this functionary: 'The position of private secretary is unlike any other office in any country ... To a man of ability and tact the power is vast alike in patronage and in influence upon the ruler's policy'.

Peter Principle

'A person rises to the level of his incompetence' (Laurence J. Peter).

'In hierarchy, every employee tends to rise to his level of incompetence'.

Planning

India's National Planning Committee (1940) has defined planning thus: 'Planning, under a democratic system, may be defined as the technical coordination, by disinterested experts of consumption, production, investment, trade, and income distribution, in accordance with social objectives set by bodies representative of the nation. Such planning is not only to be considered from the point of view of economics, and the raising of the standard of living, but must include cultural and spiritual values, and the human side of life'. This perhaps is the best definition of planning although it is a different matter that Indian planning efforts have strayed away from the parameters set out above.

PPBS

Robert McNamara, the secretary of state for defence in the U.S.A. in the 1960s, viewed the budget as a tool for control over the department. The budget process was divided into three phases —planning programming, and budgeting. Of the three, planning was the most comprehensive and took a global perspective. The programmes that were developed were so designed as to carry out the mission embodied in the plan. The budgeting phase worked out the costs involved in carrying out the first year of the programme.

Plateau

A temporary halt.

Plural Society

The term refers to a society which comprises a variety of communities. A plural society is generally made up of distinct social groups interacting with each other with varying levels of frequency and intensity. An admirable work in the field of plural society is *Old Societies and New States* edited by Clifford Geetz.

Policy-Maker

An individual or a collection of individuals who take decisions which set out directives for future decisions, initiate or prevent action or guide implementation of previous decisions.

Policy Sciences

The concept of 'policy sciences' was first propounded by D. Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell in 1951 in their work *The Policy Science* in which they focussed attention on decision-

making among specialists in many disciplines and thus, highlighted the significance of knowledge for the purpose of decision-making. Interest in such studies has galloped since then, and today, there are full-fledged departments of policy sciences in the universities and other institutions. Policy sciences cover a wide area of knowledge such as public administration, business administration, political science, economics, jurisprudence, etc. Since the 1960s, the policy scientists have increasingly emerged from physical and natural sciences as well.

The main focus of policy sciences is on the making of policies or decisions (a policy is itself a decision!). A decision-maker cannot get all his inputs necessary for decision-making from one discipline only: he is unimpressed with the prevalent academic division of labour: knowledge from various sources has to be integrated and applied to particular policy problems. In reality, all the knowledge inputs do not get pressed into policy-making; knowledge is selectively used and fed into the making of policy: the motive being to benefit the few rich.

Political Sociology

The systematic study of concrete political phenomenon influenced by the surrounding social system and culture. Aristotle's *Politics* is a classic work in the field. Another notable author is Montesquieu.

Poly Communalism

Refers to a society in which groups have been organised and make demands, but have not been assimilated. Poly communalism and plural society are not synonymous concepts.

Polygraph Testing

A specialised procedure for testing whether a person is answering the questions honestly. A polygraph is a lie detector.

Poly Normativism

Refers to a value system mixing the hierarchical and sacred norms of fused society with the equilitarian and rational norms of the diffracted, resulting in a commitment to ritualism and the dominance of 'mimetic' approaches to rationality.

Po Po Principle of Administration

The po po principle of management has been enunciated by Christopher Anderson and elaborated in his *The Po Po Principle: A Survival Guide to Office Politics*. The po po principle argues that organisational success does not come to those who work hard and toil for the organisation and its goals. Rewards go to those who

have learned the rules and mastered the power game. Po po is short for 'Passed On and Passed Over'. It is the opposite of the puritan ethics principle: 'If-I-work hard-I'll-get-ahead'.

Portfolio System

The portfolio system was introduced in India by Lord Canning, India's governor-general and viceroy during 1858–62. The portfolio system in effect meant that a member of the Governor-General's Council would be appointed in charge of one or more departments of the government by the governor-general and he would issue orders on behalf of the governor-general-in-council.

This innovation was statutorily recognised by section 8 of the Act of 1861.

To Lord Canning (thus) goes the credit of introducing the portfolio system in India. Section 8 of the Indian Council Act, 1861, empowered the governor-general to make rules and orders for the more convenient transaction of business in the Executive Council. Lord Canning simplified the procedure and introduced the portfolio system to expedite the transaction of business in the Council of the Governor-General. This system was introduced in March 1862.

Under the portfolio system of 1862, the business of different departments was divided between the members of the council. Each secretary sent the papers of his department to the member of the Executive Council. Papers of routine or small importance were disposed of finally by the concerned member. But papers of greater importance had to be sent to the governor-general for his concurrence in the orders given by the member. If the governor-general did not concur in the orders of the initiating member, the papers were circulated to the whole council or brought up before it for discussion.

The portfolio system was an act of improvement in the transaction of public business. It gave speed and efficiency in the conduct of business by introducing the extent of circulation and investing the individual Executive Council members with definite departmental responsibility. This departmental responsibility relieved the governor-general of unnecessary details. Also, the governor-general had the discretion to decide which papers would go to the whole council and which not.

Post-Industrial Society

The 'post-industrial society' term was first coined by Arthur Penty, a guild socialist at the end of the nineteenth century. The term fell into disuse but in the

1950s it was revived in the social sciences. Alain Touraine published his *The Post-Industrial Society* in 1971. The term was given an entirely new twist by Daniel Bell in his work, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (1973). Bell argued that the industrial societies were entering a new phase in their evolution, which he called the post-industrial society. The agrarian society gave way to industrial society and now, in turn the industrial society is getting replaced by the post-industrial society. The hallmark of the post-industrial society is the primacy of production of services rather than goods. Its other features are: employment of the majority of the workforce in white-collar jobs rather than in manual occupations, and their increasing concentration in professional, managerial or technical fields. With the progressively diminishing number of the working class, the class war or class conflict is becoming less and less marked and eventually newer alignments in the society will emerge.

President of India

The president is the head of state in India in whom is vested the executive power of the Indian union. The supreme command of the defence forces of the union is also vested in him.

The president is elected by members of an electoral college consisting of the elected members of both houses of parliament and legislative assemblies of the states. The election is held in accordance with the system of proportional representation and voting by secret ballot. The president holds office for a period of five years and may be re-elected. For election as president, a person must be a citizen of India and must have completed the age of 35 years and qualified for election as a member of the Lok Sabha.

The president is aided and advised by a council of ministers with the prime minister at its head and who shall, in the exercise of his functions, act in accordance with such advice.

The president and both houses of parliament together constitute the parliament. Only when the president gives his/her assent to a bill passed by parliament does the bill become an act.

The president addresses both houses of parliament assembled together at the commencement of the first session of each year and prorogues both houses of parliament from time to time and dissolves the lower house. The president can be removed from office by impeachment.

President's Committee on Administrative Management

The President's Committee on Administrative Management 1937

of the U.S.A. also known as the Brownlow Committee, made the following recommendations.

1. Expansion of the White House staff so that the president may have a sufficient group of able assistants in his office.
2. Strengthening and development of the managerial agencies of the government, particularly those dealing with the budget and efficiency research with personnel and planning.
3. Extension of the merit system to cover all non-policy making parts; reorganisation of the civil service system as a part of management under a single responsible administrator, and creation of the Citizen Board to serve as the watchdog of the merit system.
4. Overhauling of the 100 independent agencies and placing them by executive order within one or more of the 12 major departments and placing upon the executive continuing responsibility for the maintenance of effective organisation.
5. Enforcement of accountability of the executive to the Congress by providing independent post-audit of all fiscal transactions by an auditor-general and restoring to the executive complete responsibility for accounts and current transactions.

A closer analysis of the Brownlow report would make a reader recognise an emphatic affirmation of the Hamiltonian philosophy of administration. Alexander Hamilton supported a strong, effective, action-oriented government: strong public institutions are necessary to protect human liberty.

Price Indeterminism

The existence of a price system, but one of great sensitivity to status factors. A mark of the prismatic society.

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO)

The Prime Minister's Office (PMO), known as the Prime Minister's Secretariat until 1977, was a modest institution under the prime ministership of Jawaharlal Nehru (1947–64). Nehru began with a single private secretary. Later, the number was increased to two with the addition of M.O. Mathai as a special assistant. At one time, Dharam Vira, the distinguished ICS officer, was his private secretary and the secretary to the cabinet.

It was Lal Bahadur Shastri (1964–66) who strengthened the Prime minister's Secretariat by appointing to it senior civil servants possessing specialised knowledge. L.K. Jha, an economist was

inducted into the PM's Secretariat to strengthen it. Jha played a crucial role in the Shastri era and the Prime Minister's Office gained recognition as a top-level policy-making agency in the government. But L.K. Jha was sensitive enough not to upset the traditional working of the government. Later, Jha recalled that though he could see the Prime Minister's Secretariat being a powerful department of its own with the powers to reach on all sides, he dared not to break the established conventions. Thus, papers from his senior, the cabinet secretary, would routinely go to the prime minister and travel back without Jha ever looking through them.

Indira Gandhi succeeded Shastri in 1966, but continued with the latter's team of officers for some time. After her battle with the so-called 'syndicate' leading to the Congress split in 1969, the Prime Minister's Secretariat underwent a metamorphosis. After the devaluation of the rupee in 1969, she brought in P.N. Haksar, who replaced L.K. Jha. It was Haksar who gave to the Prime Minister's Office that role and status which, today, arouses awe and fear in the government. Haksar emerged as a very powerful bureaucrat; he literally ran the administration. He brought in the *Garibi Hatao* programme and made socialism a fashionable slogan in the country. Haksar's writ ran large until 1974 which saw the emergence of Sanjay Gandhi.

In that year (1974) P.N. Haksar was replaced by P.N. Dhar, who taught at Delhi's Institute of Economic Growth. The Prime Minister's Secretariat by now emerged as the crucial centre where internal and external policies were planned and political and even party strategies discussed and finalised.

In 1977, the Janata government under Morarji Desai as prime minister came into power, and one of the earliest measures of Morarji Desai was to curb the powers and functions of this formidable body. Its staff was curtailed, and renamed as the Prime Minister's Office, a nomenclature which stays till today.

But Morarji Desai appointed in the Prime Minister's Office V. Shankar, an exceptionally distinguished member of the ICS who had earlier worked with him in the Administrative Reforms Commission (1966–70). V. Shankar's personality being what it was, his writ prevailed over all the government; his word was accepted as an order from the prime minister himself.

The Janata government was a short-lived one, and Indira Gandhi returned to power in 1980. Indira Gandhi displayed

her traditional penchant for strengthening the Prime Minister's Office. She brought P.C. Alexander, recalling him from his U.N. post in Switzerland and made him her principal secretary. Other members of her team includes G. Parthasarathy, Gopi Arora, V.S. Tripathi, R.K. Dhawan, Sharda Prasad. The Prime Minister's Office became a very powerful institution of policy and decision-making in the government.

Rajiv Gandhi, who succeeded her after her death in 1984, strengthened the Prime Minister's Office further. At one point of time it included three full-fledged secretaries, three additional secretaries, five joint secretaries and a battery of OSDs and director-level officers. There were, besides, a large number of 'advisors'. P.C. Alexander had, however, to go after the Coomar Narain spy scandal broke out, succeeded by Sarla Grewal, a feisty lady belonging to the IAS.

Sarla Grewal was followed by B.G. Deshmukh, who had earlier served as cabinet secretary. This appointment was unusual, in the sense that it did not theoretically command that dignity and prestige of the highest office, i.e. of the cabinet secretary's. It however signified where real power lay.

The Prime Minister's Office, as the name suggests, assists the prime minister in the performance of his political, parliamentary and public responsibilities. This is too modest a description of this office. From Lal Bahadur Shastri's prime ministership till today, (except for a brief period during Morarji Desai's government) the PMO has been gaining in stature and influence and as of now it is an organ of awesome power and authority. It is manned by two senior-level secretaries and a battery of joint secretaries and deputy secretaries. Matters to the prime minister routinely pass through these officials in the PMO. Being closest to the prime minister, this office is more powerful than the Cabinet Secretariat.

Principles of Departmentalisation

The principles underlying departmentalisation are the following four:

1. The major purpose that is being served, such as supplying water, controlling crime, or conducting education;
2. The process that is being used, such as engineering, medicine, carpentry, stenography, statistics, accounting;
3. The persons or things dealt with or served, such as immigrants, veterans, Indians, forests, mines, parks, orphans, farmers, automobiles, or the poor;

4. The place where services are rendered, such as cities, schools, etc.

Organisation by major purpose

Organisation by major purpose, such as water supply, crime control, or education, serves to bring together in a single large department all of those who are at work endeavouring to render a particular service. Under such a policy, the department of education will contain not only teachers and school administrators, but also architects, engineers, chauffeurs, auto mechanics, electricians, carpenters, janitors, gardeners, nurses, doctors, lawyers, and accountants. Everything that has to do with the schools would be included, extending perhaps even to the control of traffic about school properties. Similarly, the department of water supply would include not only engineers and maintenance gangs, but also planners, statisticians, lawyers, architects, accountants, meter readers, bacteriologists, and public health experts.

Organisation by major process

Organisation by major process, such as engineering, teaching, the law, or medicine, tends to bring together in a single department all of those who are at work making use of a given special skill or technology, or are members of a given profession. Under such a policy the department of law would comprise all of the lawyers and law clerks, including those who are devoting their time to school matters, or water supply suits, or drafting ordinance. The department of engineering and public works would have all the engineers, including those concerned with planning design, construction, maintenance and other phases of engineering work, wherever that work was found. This would include the work, in the parks, on the streets, in the schools, and in connection with water, sewer, waste and other services. The department of health would include all of the doctors, nurses, and bacteriologists, and would not only carry on the general public health work, but would do the medical and nursing work for the schools, the water department, the department of social welfare, etc., as has been outlined above.

In every one of these cases it will be observed that the basis of organisation is the bringing together in a single office or department of all the workers who are using some particular kind of skill, knowledge, machinery, or profession.

Organisation by clientele or material

Organisation on the basis of the persons served or dealt with,

or on the basis of the things dealt with, tends to bring together in a single department, regardless of the purpose of the service, or the techniques used, all of those who are working with a given group or a given set of things. Examples are the veteran's administration which deals with all of the problems of the veteran, be they in health, in hospitals, in insurance, in welfare, or in education; and the immigration bureau which deals with immigrants at all points, including legal, financial and medical services. Departmentalisation on the basis of material is more common in private business than in public. Department stores, for example, have separate departments for furniture, hardware, drugs, jewellery, shoes, etc. and have separate buyers and sales forces for each. Another example is the community services that extend to school children and include medical inspection, corrective treatment, free lunches and recreation, and certain areas of juvenile crime. The forest service is another organisation based on material—in this case, trees.

Organisation by place

Organisation on the basis of the place at which the service is performed brings together all of those who work in a limited area regardless of the service they are forming or of the techniques they represent. This is the general practice in territorial or colonial governments. Even where the home government has separate departments for health, and education, it will be found that these departments have no direct representatives within a given territory or colony, but that there is a single representative of the home government there, under whom there are organised separate divisions to deal with all or most of the representatives of the home government in the area. They are brought together under a single local agency, instead of serving as the distant field representatives of the various central departments. It is not only in the colonial government that this system is in use. It is found also in greater or lesser degree in many of the regular departments of all large governmental units. In some of the largest city police systems the city is divided into precincts, and most of the police activities within a given area are under the complete direction of a precinct officer through whom all communication to and from headquarters must go. A similar situation is found in the postal system. Though the Washington office contains divisions in charge of mail delivery, stamp sale, postal savings, money orders, parcel post and other services, these services do not each maintain independent local

offices. A single local office is maintained with a postmaster in charge, under whom there are separate divisions for performing these particular services and for reporting the results of their work to the several supervisory and control divisions at headquarters. The treasury department, on the other hand, though it has customs officers, income tax examiners, bank examiners, narcotic officers, secret service, and others in the field representing various administrative divisions of the treasury in Washington, does not establish a general local director of these field services, but supervises each in turn directly from Washington, or through some regional office which has no organic relationship with any one of the other services.

The most extreme cases of subdivision of the work of government are found in the American states where the state has not only sub-divided itself into geographic areas for the performance of certain types of governmental service, but actually turned over to these geographic areas a large measure of the right to determine how the local service shall be conducted. This is known as 'home rule', and is found in all kinds of local government, particularly in the cities. It is common in the conduct of schools, the management of the police, the enforcement of justice, and the maintenance of the courts, all of which are legally 'state functions'. It is also the general basis of operation for poor relief programmes, local highways, water supply, waste removal, property tax administration, and health administration. Where these functions are turned over to cities, villages, towns, or countries, they are in reality sub-organised on a geographical basis. It is significant that in France, Napoleon called his major geographical subdivisions, departments. From the standpoint of the theory of organisation, this is a thoroughly accurate designation.

Private Security

As the police are increasingly unable to curb crime, citizens, particularly the upper-middle and richer sections are turning more and more to private security. The emergence of private security dates to the 1990s. In 1995, India had about 6,000 firms offering private security services to people who could afford them. The number shot up to 20,000 agencies in 1999, employing nearly 2.5 lakh personnel. Providing private security has thus, become an organised, flourishing industry with the turnover growing nine-fold to Rs 1,000 crore since 1995. The organisations in this field have formed themselves into an Association of Security Organisations of India (ASOI). Private security

is costly, and not many can afford it. In Bangalore, the monthly charge for a security guard varies from Rs 800 to Rs 1,500 for an eight-hour shift. Though private security is a fast-growing industry there is no governing legislation to ensure quality. A bill on private security was drafted in 1987 but it has not yet been enacted despite dissatisfaction that most of the personal security agencies have untrained guards.

Privatisation

Privatisation marks the most spectacular institutional form of the state's retreat in modern times. The topic has swung into prominence particularly since the eighties, and today, it has assumed a truly global importance, being a theme of enormous significance in nearly all countries of the world. Privatisation is the transfer of control of ownership from the public to the private sector, such a transfer being necessarily associated with market liberalisation and deregulation, changing the macroeconomic context, the competitive environment and the labour market of the country. Privatisation is the antonym of nationalisation. It refers to 'full conversion of property rights from the state or collective owners to private owners. *The New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics* defines privatisation as 'the transfer of assets or service functions from public to private ownership or control'. But Ivan Major, an authority on the subject, observes: 'I do not consider as privatisation the conversion of state-owned enterprises into limited liability companies or joint stock companies where the shareholders are other state-owned enterprises or commercial banks. Consequently, so called "spontaneous", or "wild" privatisations cannot be regarded as real privatisations ... A clear distinction must be made between privatisation and commercialisation, or any other way of replacing the old forms of "collective" ownership with new ones. Moreover, I do not regard a company as having been privatised if the majority share of its property is still owned by the state, or the state has a dominant voting right among the company's owners'.[1] According to the same author, after privatisation, the property rights of private owners cannot be constrained in any other way than by the constitution or by acts of parliament in order to defend the basic rights of a country's population and comply with basic international law. To quote Ivan Major: 'It is in accord with the above definition that the state can retain the property rights of public goods provided that public goods are defined by democratically elected

political institutions'.[2] From the foregoing it thus emerges clearly that the term 'privatisation' has been employed with increased frequency for differing images all over the world. It is not an exact concept as yet even though it is widely discussed in most countries of the world and vast literature on it has also been published. It would be better to say that privatisation is as yet, at best, a code name for a truly complex process which perhaps is more political than economic. 'Privatisation has today, become a flexible term covering a large range of public policies such as the sale of council houses and the transfer of one-time public-sector services like refuse-collection to private companies. It also includes fifty per cent of the shares in a nationalised industry from public to private funds.'[3] Privatisation is not a monolithic concept. Indeed, each country has its own approach to privatisation, and it would be good to remember this central fact while discussing the subject. In its narrowest sense privatisation is a shift of ownership, a transfer of organisations away from the public sector. This goal may be achieved through a variety of strategies, key elements of which are:

1. *Stock-market flotation*: consists of the sale of the enterprise to the general public with equity offered on a fixed price or through a tendering process. Shares can be marketed internationally or domestically, and all the equity may be sold or government may retain a proportion.
2. *Sale to a third party*: consists of the sale of all or part of the shareholding to a single purchaser or group of purchasers. The enterprise may be sold as a going concern, or the assets of a defunct operation sold. The sale may be by private placement with investors, or a trade sale to the private sector companies. The price may be determined by competitive bidding, or by negotiation with potential buyers.
3. *Management or employeee buy-out*: managers and/or employees acquire a controlling shareholding in the enterprise. It is a likely requirement that a high proportion of the purchase price will be funded by borrowing and that a strong cash flow will be necessary to meet interest and capital repayments.
4. *Leasing/Franchising*: in certain circumstances, only the operations of the industry are privatised and the necessary assets are leased, generally for a predetermined

period, after which they return to government control. In some cases the process is mixed in that the infrastructure is sold to one organisation which then leases the facilities to the operating company.

5. *Sale of assets*: another form of privatisation is the public sale of state-owned assets such as land, building and housing stock.

Nevertheless, privatisation falls into two broad categories. This first category is in a way qualitatively different from the second one, and is basically linked with regime-change, its example being the Soviet Union and east Europe. Communism with its command economy and one-party system got convulsed in its own contradictions and excesses and the process of disintegration began in 1989. Soon, communism in the Soviet Union and east Europe collapsed, and these countries have since committed themselves to a free-market economy. The state-owned undertaking in these countries have been dismantled, entailing privatisation as part of system change. But privatisation does not necessarily follow regime-change. Such cases may be said to constitute the second category in which privatisation is viewed as a mark of a micro-policy shift. Margaret Thatcher's government in Great Britain embarked on a policy of privatisation with this perspective in mind. France is another prominent example with the Socialist president in the Elysee (Mitterand). India is also in the second category: India is boldly talking about privatisation even though the country's constitution employs, since 1975, the term 'socialist' in its preamble.

Privatisation is an emotionally charged term in countries like India and is viewed as an ideologically and politically explosive issue. The topic is not limited only to economics: its implications certainly go far beyond it and impinge, indeed, on all sectors of life. Briefly, privatisation refers to the process of removing the state from the decision-making over the allocation of capital resources. In other words, privatisation means the transfer to other agents of the right of the state to influence directly the allocation of existing capital resources. It refers to the process of conversion of property rights from the state to the people.

Various are the arguments both for and against privatisation. One may begin with a discussion of arguments in favour of public ownership of resources. Every society contains certain sectors in its economy in which state ownership with limited competition is a more efficient way of

ordering economic activities than unrestricted interplay of market forces. The classical cases are natural monopolies such as railways, electricity and economic sectors where externalities prevail such as environmental conservation or defence. Empirical evidence here shows that the boundaries between competition and natural monopolies or sectors with externalities are not permanently fixed immutable ones. These boundaries may change, for instance, when deregulation and market competition become a more efficient form than public monopolies. Everywhere, the wind these days is blowing against state ownership and in favour of private ownership, a view gaining widespread support. Ivan Major goes to the extent of asserting, 'there is no real reason to accept that state ownership can be superior or equal to private ownership as regards economic efficiency.'

Von Mises (1935) and Von Hayek (1944) opposed state ownership on the ground that state ownership and central planning are not viable. Scholars like Douglas North argue that the institutional and allocative efficiency become low under state ownership. A lack of clarity in property rights always leads to deterioration in economic efficiency. It has also been argued by many that state ownership leads to careless spending by the company managers, wasteful resource allocation and lack of organisational flexibility. It has been observed that hard budgetary discipline applies only on private enterprises. Employees of public enterprises make unrestrained wage claims, which leads to hyperinflation. All these factors, it is further, argued, caused financial collapse of the communist countries.

Adam Smith was the first to adduce economic reasons to justify privatisation. He observed: 'No two characters seem more inconsistent than those of trader and sovereign'. This is because people are more extravagant with the wealth of others than with their own. According to him, public administration was negligent and wasteful because public employees do not have any stake in the outcome of their actions. Adam Smith estimated that the productivity of public lands was 25 per cent that of private lands. This happens because the private owners had a greater incentive than did the sovereign to raise the value of their lands: they would monitor activities, eliminate waste and innovate.

While privatisation shows improved economic performance it must be admitted that its potential to accomplish this objective is greatest when newly privatised entities operate in an environment

in which product markets are competitive, the entities are subject to the takeover threat; and finally, the entities are allowed to go bankrupt.

Privatisation is not an exact concept as yet even though it is widely discussed in most countries of the world and a vast literature has also been published since the eighties. Better it would be to say that privatisation is as yet a code name for a complex process which perhaps is more political than economic.

Privatisation is advocated to promote a complex of objectives though they differ from country to country:

1. To improve the government's budgetary position by generating additional revenue from the sale of the enterprise, an increase in receipts from taxes on the sales revenue of the enterprise, and from a reduction in the size of the subsidy paid to the enterprise by government;
2. To increase efficiency and improve quality and productivity through increased competition;
3. To reduce the size and influence of the public sector in general, and the range of government involvement in industry in particular;
4. To promote wider public participation and control through the diffusion of share-ownership or the creation of the management or employee buy-outs;
5. To encourage private investment and to develop local capital markets;
6. To signal strong support for the private sector as an engine for development and thus restructure national priorities; and
7. To reduce the influence of public-sector trade unions.

These objectives are not necessarily achieved simultaneously. For example, if the enterprise's performance improves following privatisation, then tax revenues may increase leading to an improvement in the budgetary position. However, the private sector capital which may have contributed to this improvement, is now not available for other investment opportunities.

Privatisation may be effected in several ways. First, is the leasing out and auctioning off of properties. There could be an outright sale of a given property to a selected buyer or the case-by-case initial public offering. Since 1989, a proposal has been mooted for the free distribution of the state-owned assets to the population at large.

The Soviet-type economy created a centralised command economy characterised by,

1. State ownership in productive assets;
2. Central planning of resources; and
3. One-party political monopoly.

State ownership in practice meant that property rights of the state were concentrated in the hands of politburo of the Communist Party. One of the earliest measures taken by communism was nationalistion of companies, mines, banking institutions, even agricultural land. The command economics were thus deprived of all regular mechanisms marking the market economy. Planning bureaucracy inevitably expanded enormously. Polity became unavoidably an organic component of economy and the resultant entanglement of politics and economics was to be taken into account as a crucial factor in the systematic change. This was easier said than done. The reverse journey bristled with problems and difficulties. No one was able to say what the true value of the state-owned fixed assets was. There were, at best only estimates based on surmise. The number of state-owned economic organisations which were the prospective candidates for transfer to private hands far exceeded the governmental handling capabilities. So confronted, Governments' ability to seize opportunities which privatisation provides are restrained by both the national capacity to develop and sustain a privatisation programme as well as the availability of acceptable purchasers.

Privatisation must not be an ad hoc response but instead fit into a well-thought out, comprehensively articulated plan. The government must first prepare and publish a privatisation policy statement. It must equally develop an institutional framework with the capacity to identify enterprises for privatisation, analyse their financial performance and assess their competitive position for each enterprise. It must modernise the legal and policy framework, codify company law, liberalise the tax regime and prepare rehabilitation and restructure plans to prepare the enterprises for privatisation. Equally necessary is it to identify potential purchasers in the society.

Successful privatisation also rests on the government's ability to manage the process of change, which must include the establishment of an institutional framework for driving privatisation programmes forward. There are more successful examples of this being undertaken by central bodies, often within the Ministry of Finance or disinvestment than under a decentralised system in which the parent ministries or bodies are responsible for divestiture of some of their own holdings.

The unit charged with responsibility for undertaking the privatisation like the disinvestment ministry will be faced with changed management tasks. It would be the function of this ministry to modernise the legal form of enterprise and to restructure its finances including its revaluation and debt management. It must attend to tasks involved in the physical rehabilitation of plant, equipment, etc., and raise its performance standards.

The difficulties confronting privatisation are offered by the following factors:

1. large-scale unemployment;
2. under-priced property transfers, cronyism, and outright corruption;
3. aggravated differences in personal incomes;
4. over-reliance on foreign capital;
5. excessive short-termism and an inability of government to control the market to meet national priorities, including environmental concerns;
6. regional disparities;
7. abuses of monopoly positions; and
8. costs of preparing for privatisation disproportionate to the economic gains.

There is certainly no evidence that such consequences are inevitable. However, some combination of these concerns can be found, in varying degrees, in some settings.

It is, thus, only fair to add that state ownership of enterprises is not an unmitigated evil and privatisation is not the only way out. One may indeed, safely argue that it is not the form of organisation which determines efficiency; the real determinant is the type of organisation and management of companies. The state-owned enterprises, in other words, can be as efficient as private-run organisations if they function in a competitive market environment and their managers are truly professionals, a view held by the well-known economist John Kenneth Galbraith.

Privatisation may result in the transfer to the private sector of natural monopolies, in which case consumer protection has to be ensured by appropriate regulation Essentially regulation is based on the following principal forms:

1. *The control of profits*: profits can be controlled through regulations which set the appropriate ratios: margins, returns on investment or capital employed or on dividends paid. The weakness of this method is that it removes one of the forces promoting efficiency.
2. *The control of prices*: the control of prices, particularly if linked to a formula which

provides for a progressive reduction, in real terms, has been adopted in many cases. While this method will promote efficiency it can, nevertheless, lead to situations where investment suffers and profits are deemed to be excessive.

3. *Performance indicators*: in industries concerned with providing a public service, and in which output is difficult to measure in purely financial terms, regulation may also include the setting of clear performance standards as far as levels and quality of service are concerned.

Other prerequisites for privatisation include the creation of appropriate legal instruments, the existence of supporting financial mechanisms and the existence of a capital market.

In India, what industries and services the state should run and control was re-assessed in the eighties. As a result, the hitherto followed practice of the state taking a large portion of services and industries into its own hands was reversed. It, thus, began challenging the view that state ownership was better. The view that has gained ascendancy and acceptance instead was that private ownership and open competition promote efficiency and encourage a company to offer better services to the society.

The most extreme exponent of privatisation was Great Britain under Margaret Thatcher. Between 1979 and mid-eighties, it privatised many state-owned enterprises including British Telecom, Jagues, Britoil, Amerisham International, British Gas, etc. Britain was followed by West Germany, France, Japan, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Brazil and many others. India has also joined the club.

The term 'privatisation' is an omnibus, nearly a catch-all term entailing a large range of ideas and covering a multiplicity of forms. One form is the restructuring of capital of public enterprises. Another could be entrusting of the management of public enterprise to a private company. Even a change in the nature of the relationship between an enterprise and the government permitting private sector participation is privatisation.

Privatisation is retreat of the state but not totally or without discrimination. The state is still called upon to oversee the operational side of the enterprise. The need for regulating the markets and the playing field inevitably sucks the state into a new role—the role of a regulator. This constitutes a shift of the role—the state in other words, abandons its

role of rowing and assumes that of steering. When Great Britain was privatising its electricity supply undertaking it already had in existence the Office of the Regulator. Indeed, it is now acknowledged that the privatisation of electricity in that country would not have been possible without a regulator mechanism in existence. Except for the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI), and Telecommunication Regulatory Authority, India yet does not have regulatory bodies in many other fields. In the United States, the private sector has necessitated the creation of independent regulatory commissions. India will have to create them.

With the opening up of fields to the private sector, both Indian and foreign, and liberalisation of imports, public enterprises in India find themselves operating in a competitive and challenging environment. They need to be provided with a level playing field. These must function with greater autonomy. Innovative methods must be used to enforce accountability. As public enterprises are no longer dependent on budgetary support and as they are increasingly raising their funds in the capital market they must be given greater autonomy in the matter of investment decisions as in many others. They must be encouraged to function in a businesslike manner. Service conditions of employees in public enterprises warrants a revision keeping in mind the principle of fair comparison with the private sector.

Performance appraisal must focus more closely on results shown.

Public enterprises also face the problem of the flight of managers to the better-paid private sector. The brain-drain from public enterprises to private sector must be stemmed. In one year, for instance, 1,000 senior personnel from the Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd., a well-managed public enterprise jumped the fence to join the Asea Brown Boveri, its multinational competitor.

A popular form which privatisation in India is currently taking is disinvestment. In the first disinvestment exercise undertaken in 1994, the central government mobilised Rs 2,300 crore by disinvestment of public sector equities. The first wave of disinvestment of public enterprises resulted in a loss of Rs 10,000 crore to the national exchequer. What was worse, the funds generated through disinvestment were used exclusively for fiscal purposes. This means that the public-sector assets were sold to sustain the government's current expenditure. Capital formation was thus not in the least helped. The

second round of disinvestment in public enterprises came in January 1995 when the government fixed a target of Rs 21,000 crore. The response was not very encouraging as it could raise not more than one-third of the target. The poor response was attributed to the adverse secondary market conditions, the lack of liquidity in the market and the fact that foreign institutional investors have been net sellers. It is also important to remember that trade unions have been highly inimical to the move and are fiercely opposed even to disinvestment.

One must remember that the acid test of privatisation lies in the breaking of the monopoly. Monopoly breeds inefficiency and customer-insensitivity regardless of whether it is public or private. Privatisation also entails the risk of selling of assets too cheaply in an effort to encourage ordinary people to own the shares.

Privatisation leading to a shrinking of state activities calls for the creation of new institutions. These are regulatory institutions to monitor the performance and behaviour of the private sector. Monitoring institutions are there to see that the private sector is observing the rules—like pollution laws, etc.

One must also raise a few questions here. Can the right of regulating be sold to outsiders? Or, can some of the state responsibilities be sub-contracted? For instance, auditing work can be sub-contracted. Can a regulatory agency really succeed in regulating? These agencies lack adequate information of the type and range required without which they get handicapped in carrying out their responsibilities. Also, they have necessarily limited instruments to carry out their functions.

[1]Major, Ivan: *Privatisation in Eastern Europe: A Critical Approach*, Hants, Edward Elger Publishing Limited, 1993, p. 50.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 50.

[3]*The M.I.T. Dictionary of Modern Economics*, edited by David W. Pearce, The M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1983.

Productivity in Government

Productivity is expressed as a ratio:

$$\text{Productivity} = \frac{\text{relevant Output}}{\text{Input}}$$

Productivity may be defined as the efficiency in producing public goods and services. But what is efficiency? Productivity is an input-output ratio. That is, it is the ratio between the units produced or services provided (output) and the resources consumed (input). Efficiency of an organisation would be measured by the productivity indicators over a period of time.

Efforts to study productivity in government do not have a long history. This is true of even the

United States of America. It was only in 1962 that the then existing Bureau of the Budget initiated a project with five agencies to explore the feasibility and usefulness of productivity measurement. The feasibility of developing productivity indexes for several government activities was shown in a report issued in 1964. The 1962 exercise did not last long and was soon suspended. Fresh efforts at productivity measurement were mounted in the U.S.A. in July 1973.

A critical component of successful productivity effort in government is good management. Indeed, a prerequisite for the greening of productivity improvement in government is the top-level political and management commitment. Goals have to be clearly identified and the necessary resource mobilisation must take place. Appropriate techniques and technologies must be incorporated to enable the organisation to cope up with the environment effectively. Equally crucial is the need for harmonising the personal needs of the employees and goals of the organisation. The true criteria for performance must be developed realistically and these must be effectively enforced. For the long-term success of the productivity effort productivity ethics must be devised and upheld.

Professions

Originally, the term 'professions' was applied to a limited number of vocations: at that time only three occupations enabled their practitioners to earn a living without taking up any commercial or manual work. These were law, medicine and divinity. This was the concept of 'professions' in the pre-industrial society. The process of industrialisation triggered off changes in the occupational structure in the society, demanding a sophistication of the concept of profession. Today, its distinguishing attributes are:

— A desire by an occupation to maximise its freedom of action—in the management of professional work and in the regulation of the profession.
— Possession of ethical codes.
— Long periods of training.
— Existence of an occupational association.
— A desire by the occupation to win and maintain a status of a profession where the members claim to enjoy a monopoly of expertise.
— A profession enjoys a license to practise but at the same time has requirements that the members will not abuse their exclusive expertise and knowledge.
— A profession provides a framework of accountability.

Programme Budgeting

A financial plan wherein expenditures are based primarily on programme of work and secondarily on character and object.

Programme Evaluation

Programme evaluation has been a major thrust in the field of public administration since the seventies. A cursory perusal of the literature available on the subject suggests the development of the field of programme evaluation in three stages:

1. The 1950s–60s were concerned with establishing the identity of evaluation research vis-a-vis policy analysis and social science research.
2. During the 1970s the effort was focussed on building consensus on evaluation purposes and standards.
3. Since the 1980s the effort has been towards the utilisation of evaluation products and organisation of evaluation function.

From the point of view of approach, management may be classified into process-oriented management or result-oriented management. The result-oriented management adopts the following seven-step course of action:

1. It defines the outlines of the programme and identifies who is responsible for managing it.
2. It obtains policy and management agreement on a set of outcome-oriented programme objectives and performance indicators to serve as the basis of management and assessment.
3. It establishes a system for assessing performance and results based on these objectives and indicators.
4. It establishes realistic target levels of expected performance and results.
5. It establishes systems for using programme performance and results.
6. It achieves efficient, effective performance.
7. It communicates programme performance and results to policy makers and the public.

Attention in all these steps must be focussed on producing results. Administrators must not get distracted by process-oriented issues. Line managers must be motivated, among others, by an incentive system to reinforce the focus on results. An effective evaluation presupposes programme targeting, resource mix, intervention strategy, programme configuration and service delivery arrangements.

Property Tax

A tax levied on real estate, property tax is the single largest source of local governmental revenue.

Public Accounts Committee

It is a standing financial committee of the Parliament to examine accounts showing the appropriation of the sums granted by the Parliament for the expenditure of the Government of India, annual finance accounts of the Government of India and such other accounts laid before the house as the committee may think fit. It consists of 15 members elected by the Lok Sabha plus 7 members from the Rajya Sabha who are associated with the Public Accounts Committee. Its chairman is an opposition member appointed by the speaker for one year from among its members. It makes the reports of the comptroller and auditor-general of India as its chewing fodder and has to satisfy itself that money appropriated was available to the authority governing it and every appropriation conforms to the rules. The Public Accounts Committee also examines accounts and balance-sheets of state corporations, autonomous bodies and manufacturing concerns along with the report of the comptroller and auditor-general of India. It also considers the audit reports prepared by the CAG and examines cases involving excess expenditure as well as cases involving losses and financial irregularities.

Public Administration: Crisis of Identity

The discipline of public administration is under heavy criticism for various reasons. Critics allege that it lacks a theoretical base or foundation and a core. Nor does it have firm boundaries. The subject does not have even a broadly agreed definition. It suffers from a crisis of identity. But this discipline is not alone in this respect. All social sciences are suffering from such a crisis. Economics, sociology, psychology, political science, law, etc., have their critics.

The subject is also criticised for its lack of social relevance. The world is full of menacing problems demanding appropriate solutions. Public administration's contribution to the solving of such problems is disappointing. This is a legitimate criticism, and public administration must engage itself in a measure of introspection. But one must assert that all disciplines confront this problem. Contemporary problems refuse to accept academic boundaries. Take the problem of crime, which is baffling almost all societies in the modern world. Is it a problem of ethics? Or, is it an administrative problem? Should the solution lie with economics or public administration, law or sociology? The corrective solution should come from all of these

disciplines and more. No problem can be thrust into the procrustean bed of any single discipline.

Public Administration in Great Britain

Public administration as a discipline is not a very popular area of study in Great Britain as it is in the U.S.A. Yet a mention, however brief, needs to be made of some of the leading figures it has produced in the discipline. Accounts of British administrative theory are to be found in the works of Jeremy Bentham's *Constitutional Code* (1843), John Stuart Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), Beatrice and Sydney Webbs' *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain* (1920). An honourable place must here, be accorded to Lord Haldane who played a pioneering role in the establishment of the Institute of Public Administration, which later flourished as the Royal Insti- tute of Public Administration (RIPA). RIPA was later wound up in July 1992. W.J.M. Mackenzie was the doyen of public administration in the country in the 1950s and 1960s. William Robson as professor of public administration at London dominated the field in the sixties and seventies. Others who have contributed richly to the discipline include R.G.S. Brown, R.A. Chapman, A. Dunshire, P. Dunleavy, R.A.W. Rhodes, F.F. Ridley, C. Pollitt, D.S. Pugh, G.L. Wamsley, C.C. Hood, Lyndal Urwick, Peter Self and Brech. They wrote profusely on the principles of organisation but they had little impact on the British public administration. On the whole, Great Britain retains a distaste for theory.

The British contribution to public administration is best analysed by William Robson, writing in 1961. He observes:

> On this side of the Atlantic we have avoided, or at least not emulated, the abstract approach which characterises the work of such American exponents as Herbert Simon, Chester Barnard, Edward Litchfield or Philip Selznick.

The British writers were motivated by more modest ambitions:

> In recent decades any theorising we have indulged in is to be found embedded as articulated major premises in the pages of blue books dealing with such matters as of government. The best work in this country is not abstract but highly realistic.

Public Administration in the U.S.A.

Public administration, at least in its embryonic form, was born

primarily and principally to regulate group action and behaviour. When a group of people started living together and emerged as a community, some common problems made themselves felt which needed collective resolution.

One such concern has been the maintenance of peace and prevention of crime. It was in this category of needs that for the first time public administration was born.

A community could not have survived, had it not devised a mechanism to regulate and monitor the behaviour of its members in certain respects. Regulation of group action was as inescapable a necessity as was the need for group living. It was only at a much later stage in the course of its evolution that it found itself engaged in carrying out positive functions intended to promote human happiness and welfare.

Origin

Public administration in the beginning was necessarily limited in size, its functions being absolutely minimal. We do not have figures of the government employees in India when the Crown took over the East India Company in 1858. What we know is that the Government of India employed nearly 11 lakh persons just prior to the year 1947, when the country was not yet partitioned and divided. The United States of America could perhaps be an apt example.

The total number of federal government employees in the United States was 126 in the year 1808, nineteen years after the federal government was first created in 1789. A new government necessarily starts its career with minimum functions, employing the least number of employees. New activities are taken up as time passes and new conceptions emerge, necessitating the employment of more hands. George Washington, the first president of the United States of America (1789–97), inducted into the civil service, gentlemen of good breeding. Such a source of civil service recruitment, however, could not stabilise into a well-crystallised convention in years to come. Andrew Jackson, who assumed the office of presidency in 1829, held the view that government jobs were easy and simple and persons of average ability were capable of carrying them out.

He also believed in rotation of office so that government jobs could become available to almost every citizen. This arrangement of recruitment is known as the spoils system, which dominated the American personnel system until 1882. The assassination of President Garfield by a disgruntled job-seeker provoked the U.S.

Congress to pass the first civil service legislation, called the Pendleton Act, in 1883, to put an end to the spoils system and in its place instal merit as the basis of recruitment.

The Civil Service Commission was set up in 1883, to test merit by holding competitive examinations. As a result the quality of civil service recruitment considerably improved. In India, patronage ruled the civil service recruitment until 1853 when Macaulay recommended merit as the basis of selection. France had already adopted merit in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Growth

The economic depression of the 1930s constitutes another landmark in the evolution of American public administration inasmuch as it found its role considerably enlarged. The concept of the positive state emerged around this time to counter the economic depression. Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration (1933–45) initiated bold programmes of economic intervention, collectively known as the New Deal. To take up these newer tasks, the recruitment programmes for public administration were stepped up. The federal bureaucracy as a result expanded considerably to take up a wholly new array of functions and activities. As the state was virtually the only large-scale employer in the country because of lack of employment opportunities in the private sector, the best talent in the society gravitated into the government. The newly inducted personnel were talented, motivated and brought distinction to the work they were doing. The image of the government as a result improved. For the first time, the United States saw the emergence of the administrative state.

Indian administration

Developments in India were not wholly dissimilar though the motivations were different. A sort of mini-administrative state began taking shape in India under the Government of India Act, 1919, even though unconsciously. The act of 1919, implemented in 1921, made a planned beginning towards responsible government, and introduced dyarchy in the provinces. Under such an arrangement, departments engaged in nation-building activities were transferred to the elected Indian leaders for self-government. This was the first conscious move of the colonial rulers in India to entrust tasks of governance to people's representatives, and the sectors relinquished by the British related to agriculture, education, cooperatives, animal husbandry, irrigation, public health, etc.

These are the ingredients of what later on came to be known as development administration. Both politicians and (a section of) the bureaucrats received their first planned experience in developmental activities which stood them in good stead in years to come. This experience constitutes an asset of no small significance to future India. A mini-administrative state in India was emerging. The embryo of what is now called positive state or welfare state was born under the dyarchy of the Government of India Act, 1919. The role of public administration became much more encompassing. What is really significant is not the magnitude of the move but the fact that all this was taking place under the colonial rule in India whose primary goal lay in maintenance of law and order in the country.

The functions of government began expanding in all directions in all countries leading to ever-growing public employment. The total number of persons employed in the federal state and the local governments in the U.S.A. was over 10 millions in the 1980s. The central government in India has 4 million public functionaries. Britain, a much smaller country, has 7 lakh government servants. The ever-growing public bureaucracy, a result of the positive state, has caused public concern all over the world, demanding efforts to prune the bureaucracy. The solution has itself become a problem posing a threat to both democracy and development.

Public Administration: Its Teaching in India

Public administration is an ancient concept but a rather late arrival in the family of self-conscious academic disciplines. It thus carries two usages. When, for instance, man picked up a stone to kill an animal for food, the embryo of administration emerged. When two persons lifted a log together to carry it to another point, it was an act of administration. As an activity, administration is age-old.

When was the discipline of public administration born? On this question, opinions differ. A student is apt to recall here India's glorious traditions in regard to the promotion of theory and practice of public administration. Kautilya's celebrated *Arthshastra*, written between 321 BC and 300 BC is the world's oldest text in public administration and India's great classic on the subject. It deals with the hierarchy of officials, the merits and failings of bureaucracy including its pathological problems like corruption, territorial divisions of the state, field administration, land revenue and taxation. Europe had its tradition

of administrative studies dating back to the 1700s. Cameralists, who were German and Austrian scholars flourishing around this time, published no less than 2,000 titles of which 500 dealt with fiscal administration and 500 with other distinctive administrative topics. George Zincke was a famous Cameralist. A word may also be said about the high level of French interest in public administration, which could be traced to Napoleon's rule from 1799 to 1804. France based its public service recruitment on merit as early as 1847 when the first competitive examination was held.

What has been said in the foregoing, notwithstanding the credit for founding the discipline of public administration, is today attributed to Woodrow Wilson who was then teaching political science at Bryn Mauwr College, Pennsylvania and the year of origin is fixed at 1887 when his 26-page essay titled 'The Study of Administration' was published in the *Political Science Quarterly*. The letter to the editor which accompanied the article bears the date 11 November 1886. Incidentally, this rather brief essay was the only piece which Woodrow Wilson wrote in the field of public administration although he was a prolific author. Today, all those involved in this discipline fall in line with the American thinking although even Americans make a more localised claim saying that Woodrow Wilson is the founder of American public administration.

The teaching of public administration in India first began in the early forties when a paper in this subject was introduced in political science at the Master's level in Lucknow University, thanks to the leadership provided by V.K.N. Menon, the celebrated name in the discipline. Public administration first made its appearance in the university campus in the more modest shape of a diploma. The universities which took the lead in this respect were Madras, Allahabad, Lucknow and Nagpur universities. To Mahadeo Prasad Sharma goes the credit of being the first professor of public administration, the year being 1949. In the early sixties, departments of public administration were set up at Lucknow, Jaipur, Hyderabad and Chandigarh known as the four 'mathas' of public administration. The Nagpur University also falls in the same category. This was the first generation of public administration. Gradually, new departments were established and teaching of public administration began to spread. Today, a large number of universities impart postgraduate instruction in this discipline and the list includes Kurukshtra

University, M.D. University (Rohtak), Punjabi University (Patiala), H.P. University (Shimla), South Gujarat University (Surat), Kakatiya (Warangal), Nagarajuna University, Andhra University (Waltair), Uttkal University (Bhubaneswar), Sambalpur University, Burda Saugar University, Bodh Gaya University. Public administration is also taught within the departments of political science. Facilities for studying public administration also exist through correspondence courses. Teaching is spreading at the undergraduate level also.

All taken together, the discipline is gaining popularity. Though it is the youngest discipline to enter the universities, the subject is among the most popular in the civil service competitive examination conducted by the Union Public Service Commission, others being sociology, psychology, history, geography and anthropology.

The quantitative expansion of teaching of public administration in universities is far exceeded by those who opt for this subject in the higher civil services competitive examination. It is among the first choices of the aspirates. What is even more revealing is that many who take this subject in the competitive examination have never formally studied it while in the university. Three principal reasons explain such an attraction.

First, if there is one subject which appears to be closer to the world of the ground-level reality, it is public administration. In its curriculum it discusses topics such as corruption, a phenomenon a student has himself seen in practice. He studies what is being practised in the society. Indeed, no other subject parallels public administration in its closeness to, and correspondence with, the realities of society.

Secondly, it evokes natural interest in almost every student whatever be his earlier academic background. The subject is multidisciplinary, which has an irresistible attraction for those studying other social sciences. Students of political science find a lot in common between their discipline and public administration. Psychology is directly concerned with morale, motivation, communication, leadership, etc., which are part of the syllabus of public administration. Some of the topics dealt are taken from other disciplines. Naturally, students of other subjects find public administration not entirely unknown or unfamiliar.

Finally, it has perennial practical utility. It directly helps the candidates when they confront the personality test. They are prepared and know what an extended interview is purported

to disclose that a written examination cannot. They show more confidence when they face an interview board. Also, when they eventually join the service their theoretical study prepares them to relate their theoretical knowledge to practice.

Public Administration and Private Administration in the 1990s

There is at present a crisis facing public administration. It is being seriously argued that the boundary between public administration and private administration is unclear, unreal and today, it has become non-existent. There is a measure of commonality between these two but to say that public administration has no sovereignty of its own, and can be completely equated with private administration is misleading, untrue and even dangerous at least for the third world. Let us remind ourselves once again that public administration and private or business administration have their essential differences. The view that management is management whether in government or in the private sector is advocated by management experts working in and familiar with private administration. As we know, scientific management grew in the industrial environment. It was a product of the machine shop where the problem was how to manufacture more with less and less cost. Frederick Winslow Taylor never worked in the government and possessed experience only of private companies. It cannot be denied that management has a place in public administration and more of it is needed. But one must not forget that there are basic differences between the two.

First and foremost, public administration is public and as such its acid test is public interest. Being public, it is open to constant public scrutiny. This does not bother private administration. It follows that the morale and ethical standards in public administration are much higher than those applicable in private administration. The concept of accountability acquires urgency in public administration, which is unheard of in business administration. In the latter, it is equated with the annual balance sheet.

One may as well briefly talk of other differences. Public administration has emerged in the performance of an unequalled range, scale and variety of functions in the society. There are many activities performed in public administration, which have no counterpart in the private world. Indeed, the functions of government remain more undefined than defined, at least in developing societies like India. This must

be noted. Secondly, public administration is different from private administration in respect of its clientele. Its clientele is the whole society. As such it must serve the whole society. Indeed, the more vulnerable one is the greater is the care expected from the government. No private sector company, not even the highest multinational, can have this measure of penetration. Thirdly, the interaction and interrelation of functions of public administration are vastly intricate and complex and may in no way be compared to the private administration. This explains why coordination is one of the biggest problems in public administration and is always an acutely felt weakness. Fourthly, the underlying values in both are different in many ways. The cost-effective principles which are of paramount value in private administration may not be applied in public administration, at least in many cases. In private administration the general principle is: 'if it does not pay, close it'. In government many problems have to be dealt with regardless of the cost involved.

Public Choice

Public choice is the economic theory of politics. This was a bold advancement in the field of economics. Public choice is the application of economics to politics. There are areas where economic and political forces interact and this fascinated the economists, Condorcet and Schumpeter.

The term was coined in the late 1960s. In public administration it gained currency in the 1970s. Public choice is defined by Dennis Mueller as 'the economic study of non-market decision-making or simply the application of economics to political science.'[1] When economics is applied to public administration its focus is on efficiency and rationality. According to the public choice theory, the individual actor (i.e. a public manager or a client) is a utility maximiser who attempts to increase net benefits.

This theory makes three assumptions. First, it focusses on the rational, i.e. economic man. Secondly, it assumes that public good requires the cooperative behaviour of citizens. The third assumption is the desirability of institutional arrangements. The theory contends that the role of public administration is to develop de-centralised, small-scale service systems at different levels of government. It believes that a mixture of economics and politics is an innovative way of restructuring the delivery systems.

The public choice theory has been chiefly propounded by Vincent Ostrom (1974) and William Niskanen (1971). Ostrom

has been critical of the dominant governing organising theory which lays emphasis on 'integration of public responsibility following reduction of decision centres and strengthening of the executive.' Ostrom sought its replacement by his 'public choice, theory'. This is an alternative paradigm and involves multiple decision centres. Power diffusion and a market discipline overlapping jurisdictions are an advantage in the public choice theory but these pose difficulties also.

Of the four areas central to public choice (namely, preference aggregation, party competition, interest groups and public administration), those in public administration are directly concerned with the application of public choice theory in the field of public bureaucracy. Public bureaucracy enjoys monopoly power over the supply of public services, and this situation must be rectified.

The public choice theory is critical of hierarchy and large bureaucratic organisations. It calls for small organisations with overlapping jurisdictions. It claims to uphold democratic administration. It advocates divided political authority to limit the exercise of political power, no separation of or distinction between politics and administration, multiple organisaional arrangements, no competition among government agencies, overlapping jurisdictions in delivery systems and maximising efficiency. It centres around self- interest: a rational individual seeks to maximise his utility in the market.

The ideology of the state occupying the commanding heights of the economy led to excessive state intervention which became counter-productive. This triggered off a demand for reform. The emphasis shifted to the market as an instrument of efficient resource allocation and the diminished role of the state. It was expected that this new strategy would better ensure economic progress and social well-being. It was believed that business initiative and competition and freedom of choice were the natural stimulants of progress and well-being.

The public choice theorists advocate increased economic incentives or markets for public administration and adopt economic analysis to understand political behaviour. These theorists make the individual as the unit of analysis. In their view, the individual is a rational being acting in self-interest. Their aim is to give greater choice to individuals and they encourage the government to provide a plurality of institutional choices or quasi-markets. In short, the public choice theorists apply the principal-agent theory

of the firm to public administration. Public choice theory promotes the competitive market arguing that if the bureaucracy monopolises service delivery, the result will be over-supply and inefficiency. It, thus, seeks to rescue the public from the dominance, even mercy of its servants. It believes in privatisation and in contracting out.

[1]Mueller, D.: *Public Choice*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Public Goods

Public goods are goods that are non-rival (consumption by one user does not reduce the supply available) and non-excludable (users cannot be prevented from consuming the goods). These characteristics make it unfeasible to charge for the consumption of public goods.

Public Service Commission Report (Sir Charles U. Aitchison), 1886

The educated Indians were demanding their share in the country's public services and when the demand did not gain acceptance their discontentment began growing. The London government was aware of the educated Indians' creeping disenchantment and felt the need for remedial action in this regard. It, therefore, authorised the Government of India to appoint a commission. The Government of India then set up the commission, called the Public Service Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Charles Aitchison in October 1886. It has 15 (ultimately 14) members out of which 6 were Indians. Its terms of reference required it to inquire into all branches of public services except in matters relating to the recruitment of British candidates to the civil service. Subject to this limitation, the Aitchison commission was empowered to recommend any scheme which could do justice to the claims of Indians to higher and more extensive employment in the public service of India. The commission submitted its report in 1888 and action on it was taken in 1892.

The Public Service Commission took a favourable view of the age question and accepted it as a grievance of educated Indians. It suggested that the minimum and maximum limits of age at the open competitive examination should be 19 and 23 years, respectively.

It recommended the abolition of the Statutory Civil Service and in its place recommended a provincial civil service (PCS). The Aitchison commission recommended 108 posts to be transferred to the proposed provincial civil service but the government threw open only 93 posts.

Opposing the proposal for simultaneous holding of the competitive examination, the Government of India observed in a note dated 1 November 1893:

> Competitive examination in India would certainly have the effect of admitting a large number of competitors deficient in the qualifications necessary of higher ranks of the service, and whose antecedents and origins would not be such as to command the confidence or the goodwill of the classes for whose welfare they would be responsible; on the other hand, it would exclude the most valuable and capable assistance which the British government could obtain from natives of India, in the Sikhs, Mohammedans, and other races accustomed to rule and possessing exceptional strength of character, but deficient in literary education.[1]

[1]Quote in P.N. Mathur. *The Civil Service of India (1731–1894) and the Civil Service Question*, Jodhpur, Prabhash Prakashan, Year of Publication not given, p. 215.

Public Service Commission

In all political systems, public recruitment is the cornerstone of personnel administration. The other processes of personnel administration, such as training, placement, performance appraisal, promotion, compensation, etc. are secondary in importance to recruitment. No amount of in-service training can, for example, make up for the faults of the original 'timber'. Recruitment, at the same time, is a most delicate task. No person, left entirely to himself, can be completely trusted to be thoroughly objective when choosing someone to fill any post. Given the best intentions in the world, one cannot help getting swayed by factors which may be more personal than functional. Therefore, proper standards of recruitment for public administration need to be laid down and strictly observed all along. This need is all the more pressing in modern societies where large-scale recruitment for public service is involved. The central government in India alone, for instance, employees nearly four million personnel. Unwieldy size is a feature of all contemporary bureaucracies. Large numbers of people need to be recruited annually, which is best done by a professional body with the exclusive function of recruitment.

Also, today the traditional conception of administration has changed though with varying intensity in different societies. Politically awakened citizenry have made a deliberate decision to create certain institutions which

give them a free hand to function and make them accountable only to the society and its representatives. This is one way how society imposes suitable curbs and control over the government.

In most countries, recruitment of personnel has been taken out of the hands of the executive and entrusted to a separate organisation, generally known as civil service commission or public service commission.

Northcote-Trevelyan report

The Northcote-Trevelyan report submitted to the British parliament in 1853, was the first in the world's administrative history to have visualised the establishment of such a body. Having established the case for a written examination as the basis for public recruitment, the report went on to observe:

> The preliminary examination of candidates for civil employment, however, cannot be conducted in an effective and consistent manner throughout the service while it is left to each department to determine the nature of the examination and to examine the candidates. Some on whom the duty of examining devolves felt no interest in the subject. Others, although disposed to do their best, are likely to entertain erroneous or imperfect conceptions of the standard of examination which ought to be fixed, and to be unable to apply it properly after it has been settled. The time and attention of the superior officers are fully occupied in disposing of the current business of their respective departments. To do this in a creditable manner will always be their primary object and as the bearing of the subject under consideration upon the efficiency of their departments, although very important, is not of a direct or immediate hand, and is not likely to have much effect during their own tenure of office, what has to be done in reference to it will either be done by themselves in a hurried and imperfect manner, or will be left by them to their subordinate officers to be dealt with at their discretion. In a large department, in which numerous candidates have to be examined, want of time will prevent the superior officers from giving the subject the attention it deserves, and other matters, although of infinitely less real consequence, will have the precedence, because they press, and must be disposed of at the moment. Moreover, a large proportion of the persons appointed to a public department usually consists of young men in whose success the

heads of the office or the principal clerks take a lively personal interest, owing to relationship or some other motive connected with their public or private position, and an independent opinion is hardly to be expected from an examiner who is acting under the orders of the one, and is in habits of daily intercourse with the other. A public officer ought not to be placed in a situation in which duty might require him to make an unfavourable report under such circumstances. Lastly, even supposing every other circumstance to be favourable, it is impossible that each department, acting for itself, can come to such just conclusions in regard to the nature of the preliminary examination, or can conduct it in such a fair, and effective, and consistent manner, as would persons having the advantage of a general view of the subject as it affects every public department, and who should have been selected for the duty on account of their experience in matters of this description.

We accordingly recommend that a Central Board should be constituted for conducting the examination of all candidates for the public service whom it may be thought right to subject to such a test. Such Board should be composed of men holding an independent position, and capable of commanding general confidence; it should have at its head an officer of the rank of Privy Councillor; and should either include, or have the means of obtaining the assistance of persons experienced in the education of the youth of the upper and middle classes and persons who are familiar with the conduct of official business. It should be made imperative upon candidates for admission to any appointment (except in certain special cases which will presently be noticed) to pass a proper examination before the Board, and obtain from them a certificate of having done so.

History of public service commissions

In implementing the recommendations of the Northcote-Trevelyan report, Great Britain became the first country to set up a civil service commission in 1855, followed by Canada in 1868. The United States of America was the happy home of 'spoils system', but after President Garfield was assassinated by a job-seeker, Congress enacted a law in 1883 constituting the Civil Service Commission. South Africa

set up such a body in 1912, Australia[1] and Northern Ireland in 1923, India in 1926, Sri Lanka in 1931 and New Zealand[2] in 1948. Bangladesh, Burma (Myanmar), Iran, Israel, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, Kenya, etc. are other countries having civil service commissions.[3] Whether called civil service commission or public service commission, the function of this body is to recruit personnel for the civil service.

Everywhere, the civil service commission is the custodian and interpreter of the merit principal in the matter of public recruitment. Its functions, however, may vary from country to country. The functions of the Civil Service Commission in Great Britain are restrictively defined: it is the recruiting arm of the government, being an examining and a certificating body for the purpose of public recruitment. The ambit of its American counterpart is much wider: it recruits personnel for public employment, and administers many laws relating to government employees regarding veterans' preference, classification, security checks, political activity, retirement, insurance programmes, etc. The precise functions entrusted to the civil service commission of a country are generally determined by the historical experiences and political culture of that country.

The civil service commission may be enshrined in the constitution of the country itself—as in India: or it may be set up under a special statute—as in the United States: or by an executive resolution of the government—the Civil Service Commission in Great Britain owes its existence to an 'Order in Council'. The institution of the public service commission has generally been regarded as a product of British influence: the countries which have it as part of their administrative feature were either part of the British empire or came under the British influence.

The merger, in 1968, of the British Civil Service Commission with the Civil Service Department, thereby depriving this body of its separate, independent existence which it enjoyed since 1855 was viewed by many as a retrograde step. The fact, however, is that the independence of the British Civil Service Commission has not suffered any erosion even though it is now an integral part of the executive. The British civil service can rightly feel proud of its traditions of integrity and objectivity, which is a sure enough protection of the commission's independence, from the ministerial control, in matters of recruitment. What is sauce for the gander is not necessarily sauce for the goose. Where unemployment

is widespread, political interference pervasive, public opinion weak, conventions and traditions not well crystallised, a public service commission endowed with the highest degree of independence appears to be an inescapable necessity.

Government of India Act, 1919

The Public Service Commission in India owes its origin to the winds of democracy. Administrative exigencies hastened its formation. No need for such a body was felt as long as the imperial order in India was absolute and untempered. It was only after democracy was introduced, at the provincial level of government, that a body like the Public Service Commission was first visualised. The British government in India realised that under dyarchy, the hallmark of the Government of India Act, 1919, the civil service was bound to come under the influence, and even control, of the politician-minister. It was, therefore, considered essential to take out sensitive personnel matter like recruitment from the control of the executive and entrust it to an independent body. Speaking of the need for a public service commission in India, the Government of India's first despatch on the Indian constitutional reforms, dated 5 March 1919, wrote:

> In most of the dominions where responsible service from political influences by the establishment of some permanent office particularly charged with the regulation of service matters, we are not prepared at present to develop the case fully for the establishment in India of a Public Service Commission: but we feel that the prospect that the services may come more and more under ministerial control does afford strong grounds for instituting such body. Accordingly, we think that provisions should be made for its institution in the new Bill.[4]

The Government of India Act, 1919, which made a beginning towards responsible government in India, provided:

> There should be established in India a Public Service Commission, consisting of not more than five members, of whom one shall be chairman, appointed by the Secretary of State in Council. Each member shall hold office for five years, and may be reappointed. No member shall be removed before the expiry of the term of office, except by order of the Secretary of State in Council. The qualifications for appointment, and the pay and pension (if any) attaching to the office of chairman and member, shall

be prescribed by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council. The Public Service Commission shall discharge, in regard to recruitment and control of the public services in India, such functions as may be assigned thereto by rules made by the Secretary of State in Council.[5]

Writing in 1924, the Royal Commission on the Superior Services to India, popularly known as the Lee commission (after the name of its chairman) urged action on the constitutional provision 'without delay', regarding it as 'one of the cardinal features of our report and as forming an integral part of the whole structure of our proposals for the future of the (civil) services.'[6] The functions of the commission were to recruit members to the all-India services and the central services, to establish and maintain proper standards of qualification for admission to them, and to hear appeals relating to disciplinary control and protection of the services. It was to consist of five members, two of whom were to possess judicial or other legal qualifications. All of them were to be 'men of the highest public standing who will appreciate the vital and intimate relationship which should exist between the State and its servants',[7] and were to be 'detached so far as practicable from all political associations'.[8]

Since 1856, Indians had been insisting on being admitted into the higher civil service of the country. When the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, a resolution was passed in its first session to the effect that a simultaneous examination should be held for the Indian Civil Service (ICS) both to England and India—a demand reiterated time and again, but to no avail. Neither the Aitchison commission (1886) nor the Islington commission (1916) favoured the idea.

Montagu-Chelmsford report

A change, however, came with the Montagu-Chelmsford report, which recommended that 'For all public services, for which there is recruitment in England open to Europeans and Indians alike, there must be a system of appointment in India.'[9] The authors of the report held the view that the traditional system of recruiting for the higher Indian Civil Service only in Britain needed to be supplemented and 'we propose to supplement it by fixing a definite percentage of recruitment to be made in India.'[10]

Accordingly, the competitive examination to the ICS was for the first time held in India in 1922. The papers set for this

examination, however, were different from its British counterpart. The examination, held at Allahabad, was conducted directly by the British Civil Service Commission. The secretary of that body came to Allahabad to supervise the arrangements.

The Government of India Act, 1919, had provided for setting up a civil service commission in India itself. The Lee commission (1924) too had recommended its formation. The administrative problems involved in supervising the examination from London were many, a consideration that accelerated the setting up of a civil service commission in India. The Central Public Service Commission was inaugurated on 1 October 1926. Sir Ross Barker, a senior member of the Home Civil Service, was invited to be its chairman, this choice being dictated by a desire to fashion the commission after the traditions of the British Civil Service Commission. Its other members were: A.H. Ley, J.C. Weir, Syed Raza Ali and A.N. Chatterjee. A.G. Dix, who was a member of the Indian Educational Service, was its secretary. The Central Public Service Commission was made a part of the home department in the central government.

The commission advised the Government of India on matters relating to recruitment. It conducted all competitive examinations held in India for the all-India services and the central services and arranged the candidates in order of merit. Where recruitment was made by selection it considered the applications, interviewed the candidates and submitted to the government a list of them in order of preference. Where candidates were to be promoted from a provincial to an all-India service it considered the claims of the candidates nominated by the provincial governments, advised the governor-general of India whether their qualification suited the service, and finally it arranged them in order of preference. The commission also lent its services to the provincial governments on their request.

The members of the commission were appointed by the secretary of state for a term of five years and could not be removed before the expiry of their term except by his order. The chairman was not eligible, on vacating his office, to hold any other post under the Crown in India. Two of the five members were required to have been in the service of the Crown in India for at least ten years.

Simon commission report

The next stage in the evolution of the public service commission was reached in the country when

further proposals for constitutional reforms were being framed. From now on, the general stress was on the need for setting up public service commissions in the provinces and, what is more, provinces agreeing among themselves to constitute joint commissions to serve two or more of them. The Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as the Simon commission (after the name of its chairman), recommending the setting up of public service commissions in the provinces, observed: 'We have no doubt of the necessity for the establishment of provincial public service commissions if an efficient and loyal public service is to be maintained ... The protection of the services from political influences is an essential condition of the constitutional advances we recommend.'[11] The Simon commission went to the extent of arguing that recruitment of public personnel for the provinces should devolve on the Central Public Service Commission if the provincial governments did not act on this recommendation.

The proposals for Indian constitutional reforms, popularly known as the White Paper (1931), recommended[12] a federal public service commission, and for the provinces, provincial public service commissions, to serve individual provinces or, for the sake of economy, joint public service commissions to serve two or more provinces. The Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform generally endorsed[13] these proposals, but emphasised the benefits of joint provincial public service commissions. Alternatively, a province could make use of the federal public service commission's service.

Government of India Act, 1935

The Government of India Act, 1935, devoted chapter II, running from section 264 to 268, to public service commissions. It provided for setting up a federal public service commission for the federation and a public service commission for each province or a joint public service commission serving two or more provinces. As regards the Federal Public Service Commission, its chairman and other members were appointed by the governor-general. At least one half of the members were to be persons who had worked for at least ten years under the government. The independence and objectivity of the commission were to be ensured by changing the budget of the commission to the revenues of the federation, and thus was not subject to vote by the legislature. Also, the chairman of the commission was made ineligible, on ceasing to hold office, for further employment under

government. Other members, on ceasing to hold office, could not hold any other post under the government without the approval of the governor-general.

The function of the Federal Public Service Commission was to conduct examinations for appointments to the federal services. Besides, it was to be consulted:

1. On all matters relating to methods of recruitment of civil services and for civil posts;
2. On the principles to be followed in making appointments to civil services and posts and in making promotions and transfers from one service to another and on the suitability of candidates for such appointments, promotions or transfers;
3. On all disciplinary matters affecting a government servant;
4. About paying out of the revenues of the federation, the costs incurred by a government servant, serving or retired, if legal proceedings were instituted against him for acts done in the execution of his duty and he had to defend himself;
5. On awarding pension to a government servant if he was injured in the course of duty.

Under certain provisions, the government could exempt itself from consultations. Conversely, the governor-general could refer to the commission any matter for its advice.

The Provincial Public Service Commission was closely patterned after the Federal Public Service Commission. With the coming into force on 1 April 1937 of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Central Public Service Commission became the Federal Public Service Commission. The provinces too set up public service commissions in 1937. Provinces which set up joint public service commissions were: Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa; Punjab and North West Frontier Province; and Bombay and Sindh.

Public service commission in independent India

The Constitution of India incorporated the provisions of the 1935 Act. The additional provisions it made were that it obliged the commission to prepare its annual report for presentation to the legislature. Also, it laid down that the tenure of the chairman and members of the commission were to be determined by the governor-general/governor. The Constitution made the setting up of a public service commission mandatory on the centre as well

as the states. (As earlier, two or more states could have a joint public service commission or use the services of the Union Public Service Commission for any or all of their needs.)

The Constitution, which lays down the terms and conditions for the appointment of the chairman and members of the Union Public Service Commission, is silent about its size. In 1953, the commission had seven members including the chairman; twenty-five years later, the membership stood at eight. The members, including the chairman, are appointed by the president. They hold office for a term of six years or till they attain the age of 65 years, whichever is earlier. The Constitution provides that as nearly as may be, one half of the members must be persons who have held office for at least ten years under the union government or a state government. The expression 'as nearly as may be one half' in Article 316 indicates only approximation and cannot be read as equivalent to 'not more than half'.

The president may, by order remove the chairman or a member of the commission if he is adjudged an insolvent, or engaged to any paid employment outside the duties of his office or is, in the opinion of the president, unfit to continue in office by reason of infrmity of mind or body. If there are charges of misbehaviour, the president must refer the matter to the Supreme Court, which must hold an enquiry in accordance with the procedure prescribed under Article 145(j), and report whether the person concerned ought to be removed for misconduct.

The chairman and members of the commission are debarred, on ceasing to hold office, from future employment under the union government or a state government. The bar against further employment is absolute for the chairman of the UPSC. A member of the UPSC or the chairman or a member of a state commission may, however, secure another appointment, provided he is within the age limit, in terms of the provision of Article 319. What the Constitution firmly stipulates is that on expiration of his term a member is not eligible for reappointment to that office. Explaining the objective underlying such apparently stringent provisions, B.R. Ambedkar, chairman of the Drafting Committee told the Constituent Assembly: 'Our whole object is to make the members of the Public Service Commission independent of the executive. One way of making them independent of the executive is to deprive them of any office with which the executive might tempt them to depart from

duty.'[14] H.N. Kunzru stoutly defended these restrictions, observing: 'If the term of office of a member of a [public service] commission is allowed to be extended then there is every fear that members of the public service commission in order to secure their reappointment will try to curry favour with the executive.'

To further strengthen the sense of independence of the commission the Constitution specifically lays down that the expenses of this body including salaries, allowances and pensions of its members or staff 'shall be charged on the consolidated fund of India', thus not subject to the vote of the legislature.

Over a period of time, the ban against 'employment under government' has been interpreted rather generously to mean employment which is paid for by Government of India and to which appointments are made by government orders. On this interpretation the ban would not appear to operate in the case of public undertakings which in law are not government departments and function as separate entities with their own resources. For example, acceptance of vice-chancellorship of a university by members of the commission has been interpreted as not infringing this ban.

Functions of UPSC

The functions of the UPSC under Article 320 of the Constitution are:

1. to conduct examinations for appointment/recruitment to the civil services and for civil posts;
2. to advise Government of India on—
   a. all matters relating to methods of recruitment to civil services and for civil posts;
   b. the principle to be followed in making appointments to civil services and posts and in making promotions and transfers from one service to another;
   c. suitability of candidates for such appointments, promotions or transfers;
   d. all disciplinary matters affecting a person.

[1]Australia had a public service commissioner since 1902.

[2]New Zealand had a civil service commissioner since 1912.

[3]The Public Service Commission is, however, not a universal institution.

The countries in Europe do not have it. In France, for instance, recruitment of public personnel is made by the Ecole Nationale of administration. Nor, do communist countries have this institution.

[4]Paragraph 55 of Government of India's first despatch on Indian

Constitution reform, see Panchanandas Mukherji, *The Indian Constitution*, Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1920, pp. 71–2.

[5]Section 38 of Government of India Act, 1919.

[6]*Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India*, London: HMSO. 1925, p. 16.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 14.

[8]*Ibid.*

[9]Report on Indian Constitutional Reform, Calcutta: Superintendent, Government printing, 1918, p. 201.

[10]*Ibid.*

[11]Report of the India Statutory Commission, vol. II, London: HMSO, 1930, pp. 296–7.

[12]Proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform, Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933, proposal 195, p. 71.

[13]Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, vol. I (part I), London, HMSO, 1934, p. 189.

[14]Constituent Assembly Debates, vol. IX, no. 1, p. 593.

Public Utility

Public utility denotes 'an enterprise or activity undertaken in order to supply the citizen with an essential commodity or service in universal demand at a price, and at a price which will ordinarily bear a reasonable relation to the cost of producing the commodity or providing the service'.[1] According to this definition, a service which is rendered free of charge—such as defence and protection is not a public utility. Public utility is generally a monopoly or quasi-monopoly. Secondly, there is a sustained public interest in its supply. Because it is a monopoly, its user requires to be protected against excessive charges imposed by the supplier.

[1]C.W. Hurcomb, 'The Finances of Publicity Owned Utilities', in *Public Administration* (London), vol. IV, 1926, p. 360.

Q

Qazi

Judge under the Islamic law.

Quality Circle

A quality circle is a group of employees engaged in similar duties who meet periodically to discuss work-related problems and make suggestions to improve production or product quality. Quality circles were first set up in post-Second World War Japan and their success in that country prompted other countries to set up such bodies in the pursuit of higher production.

Quality Control

Refers to the mechanism or system of verifying and maintaining a desired level of quality in a product or process by undertaking a group of interrelated jobs including planning, use of proper equipment, inspection and corrective action.

Qanungo

Revenue inspector, responsible for revenue administration in a circle of villages, usually twenty to fifty, in a tehsil.

Quango

Quango is an acronym for quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation and which is applied to three types of organisations which 'have a role in the processes of government in the United Kingdom but which are not government departments or part of a government department' (Cmnd 7797, January 1980). These three categories are:

1. Executive bodies which are set up by a specific statute passed by parliament;
2. Advisory committees; and
3. Tribunals.

Philip Holland observes in the monograph *Quango, Quango, Quango*:

> Ministries have discovered that the system can be used for shedding personal responsibility, rewarding friends, expanding the corporate state, diminishing the authority of parliament, and enabling themselves to retain a measure of control over the interpretation of their own statutes. On its present scale, the vast and complex network or Quangos encourages an abuse of patronage and invites corruption.

The publication alleged: 'Quangos represent a fourth arm of government with ominous power in the interpretation and enforcement of law.' The term was coined between 1975–80.

Qua Warranto

Listed as an extra-ordinary remedy in the Constitution available to a citizen to control executive action, quo warranto is a constitutional writ ordering a person to show by what right he exercises an office, franchise or privilege. In India, the Supreme Court and the high courts can issue this writ which confers jurisdiction and authority on the judiciary to control executive action in the matter of making public appointments to public offices. The court can issue the writ based on the following three points:

1. The office in question is a public office;
2. It is held by a usurper without legal authority; and
3. The appointment of the usurper has not been made in accordance with law.

R

Rabble

Disorderly crowd; mob. Rabble refers to the Taylorian assumption of man: isolated, not part of the social system.

Rahdary

Duty collected by the roadkeeper. It is the transit duty.

Rai Bahadur

The title of 'Rai Bahadur' was conferred by the colonial rulers to Indian Hindu civil officers. The title was 'Khan Bhadur' for the Muslims.

Railway Budget

The railways, in India, employ the largest number of employees in India. They are engaged in what is a purely commercial activity, namely transport of passengers and freight. Since 1924, the railways have been allowed to manage their revenue and expenditure by themselves and thus have a separate budget. There are two main reasons favouring the separation of the railway budget. First, the railway policy and administration should be kept free from political considerations. Secondly, after making their financial contribution to the state, the railways should retain full freedom to devote their surplus profits to themselves and thus utilise these for railway development.

Rationalisation

Rationalisation promotes efficiency by restructuring an organisation. The objective underlying rationalisation is reduction of cost, which can be effected by downsizing the organisation, closing unprofitable operations, etc.

Rationality

Rationality in administration is defined as administrative behaviour calculated to maximise goal achievement. Rationality is a topic in logic and is implicit in the concept of efficiency. But the credit for bringing it in the mainstream of administrative discussion goes to Herbert A. Simon who expanded it in his Nobel-prize winning *Administrative Behavior* (1945).[1] Herbert Simon rightly contends that hundred per cent rationality in human behaviour is not impossible. Hurdles to organisational rationality come from the human inability to work out

all alternatives for the solution of a problem as well as all the consequences flowing from each of these alternative options. Our ability to collect information is agonisingly limited, particularly in the context of the growing complexity of problems. What is therefore, possible in human organisations is bounded rationality or intended rationality. Rational decision-making is thus unrealistic. What is possible in the real world is the existence of a satisficing man rather than maximising man. Simon talks about the theory of intended and bounded rationality—of the behaviour of human beings who satisfice because they do not have the wits to maximise. Satisficing man is the administrative man. With the development of electronic computers, more and more information is getting generated for problem- solving, pushing decision-makers more and more towards rationality. The boundaries of bounded rationality are thus continually shifting with technological advancement. A way out is found in incrementalism according to which decisions are founded on a very limited basis particularly when these are required to be made within a time frame.

A discussion of rationality in administration calls for a discussion of the question of the limits of the human mind. Rationality in administration has attracted the attention of a large number of thinkers including Herbert Simon, Chris Argyris, Lindblom, Dror, Ostrom and Golembieuski. It must, at the outset, be said that rationality is the starting point for decision-making. The rapid growth of artificial intelligence has made the topic of rationality immensely pertinent. A question arises: Are there limits to artificial intelligence? Can computers do everything the human mind can do? Roger Penrose,[2] who is professor of mathematics at the Oxford university strongly asserts that artificial intelligence has its definite limits: many areas of human thinking just cannot be emulated by even the most sophisticated computer.

[1]Herbert Simon: *Administrative Behavior*, New York, The Free Press, 1976, Third Edition.

[2]See Roger Penrose: *The Emperor's New Mind*, New York, OUP, 1989. Also see under Decision-making.

Razinama

A deed of consent or acquiescence.

Recruitment and Selection

Recruitment is a basic personnel function in an organisation. It refers to the process of making available, personnel to an organisation. Recruitment and selection

are not exactly inter-changeable but are distinct stages of the same process. Recruitment is the process of attracting qualified persons for jobs. Attracting a group of applicants is recruitment while testing them and narrowing down the lot to the eligible few is selection.

Red Tape

Red tape refers to excessive formality and routine involved before official action is taken. The term originated from the practice first developed in sixteenth-century Europe of tying red tape to government documents. Charles Dickens, the English novelist, used the term in 1857, to describe how a government department found ways not to do something. Red tape is the cult of administrative procedure, according to Dwight Waldo.

Redundancy

The era of positive government was coming to end as we entered the nineties. The movement for pruning the ever-growing public bureaucracy may be said to have definitely begun since the eighties of the last century. The Government of India presently has on its payrolls nearly 38 lakh employees which is too big a burden on the public exchequer. It is said, though not publicly, that nearly twenty per cent of this vast number is in excess of the requirement. The Central Fifth Pay Commission (1994–97) made definite recommendations for downsizing the bureaucracy but very little has so far been done. The commission recommended immediate abolition of the backlog of 3.5 lakh vacant posts. Besides, it wanted downsizing of numbers by thirty per cent in a ten-year period. The public undertakings announced the voluntary retirement scheme in the nineties but those who quit were generally the competent managers not the low-performing personnel. The following table shows the number of public undertaking personnel seeking voluntary retirement:[1]

Year	*Number of Employees*
1993–94	33,472
1994–95	13,830
1995–96	10,883
1996–97	46,238
1997–98	4,998
Total	1,09,421

In an era of decrementalism and cut-back management, redundancy has become a long-term problem and to which organised thought has been given. The state is advised to announce voluntary retirement schemes offering attractive terms to such employees who seek early retirement. It

should think of rehabilitation programmes such as retraining of such personnel for a future career. At the same time, the state should enforce a freeze on the recruitment and expansion of the civil service. When some new jobs are necessary, the existing jobs of the requisite number must be abolished and then alone should the desired recruitment be made. Other options suggested to slim down the public bureaucracy are downright discontinuance of unnecessary functions undertaken by the government, offloading of functions to NGOs, more frequent recourse to market testing, improving work culture in government offices including elimination of extra holidays, etc.

[1]Annual Report, 1997–98, vol. I, Department of Public Enterprises.

Refresher Training

Training given to revise and refresh previously learnt skills and knowledge which have become 'rusty' through disuse.

Rent-seeking Behaviour

A euphemism for bureaucratic corruption. Bureaucrats charged with implementing national development programmes and executing regulations, extort bribes from the entrepreneurs seeking favours from the government. The favours sought may be varied and may even include opportunities to obtain profit-yielding import licenses, foreign exchange permits, access to various subsidies including cheap credit and to reduce taxes which the enterprise must legally pay. Bureaucratic corruption is thus, directly related to the governmental intervention in private exchange and rent-seeking behaviour is the result.

Representative Bureaucracy

A belief in the view that those who live differently think differently had led to the demand that the public bureaucracy should reflect in its composition the social diversity of the society which it is to serve (or govern!). The career bureaucracy should comprise people drawn from all social strata of the society and all geographical regions of the country in broadly proportionate numbers. This, in-brief, is the concept of representative bureaucracy. It was first developed in the forties: in 1944, Donald Kingsley carried out a study of representative bureaucracy in Great Britain, and published it under the title *Representative Bureaucracy*. Kingsley found that the British bureaucracy was representative of the British middle class both in attitudes and make up. In 1949, Reinhard Bendix explored this question in the case of the United States and published his work

Higher Civil Servants in American Society, (University of Colorado Press, Boulder, 1949). The U.S. bureaucracy showed a larger measure of geographic diversity. Mosher later argued that the American bureaucracy was more representative in its composition but only passively. The transformation of the existing passive representation into active representation would depend on whether the bureaucrats would resume addressing issues on behalf of the social groups they have emerged from.

The civil service in all the countries is more or less representative of the middle class in the society. Where the prestige of the civil service is notably higher in the society it attracts candidates from the upper strata of the middle class—as in the U.K., France and even in India. Where its social status is not very high it draws its membership from the middle class as in the U.S.A. But the broad fact is that the higher civil service is largely represented by the middle class.

The reason for the preponderance of the middle class in the country's higher civil service lies in the sociology of this class. The middle class by its very definition cultivates those traits which are especially prized in the recruitment processes. Its members are hard working, closely focussed in their ambition and rely on achievement. Above all, they are sacrificing by nature and because of their middle-class origin seek rewards in the future being content with deferred gratification.

An important factor perceived as paving the way for a responsive administration, thus, lies in making a country's bureaucracy representative. The underlying belief is that the civil servants' perception of the larger society is influenced by the socio-economic background they come from. As Harold Laski said, those who live differently think differently. This explains why in France, the queen suggested that the people should eat cake when they were clamouring for bread. The operating ideals of the civil service should broadly match the aspirations of the people they are supposedly serving when demographically as well as spatially they represent the society. The ideal is that a country's civil service should be the microcosm of the society having an appropriate mix of the various cross sections of the society. Such a representative bureaucracy should better understand and articulate the hopes and needs of the people. Its foremost proponent, Paul P. Van Riper observed:

> A representative bureaucracy is one in which there is a minimal distinction between the

> bureaucrats as a group and their administrative behaviour and practices on the one hand, and the community or societal membership and its administrative behavior practices and expectations of the government on the other. Or, to put it another way, the term representative bureaucracy is meant to suggest a body of officials which is broadly representative of the society in which it functions and which in social ideals is as close to the grass roots.[1]

The great merit of the concept of representative bureaucracy lies in the need it underlines for broadening the socio-economic base of the higher civil service of the country. The argument underlying it supports the reservation of public jobs for disadvantaged sections of the population in India. The United States has an affirmative action policy in the matter of public recruitment precisely for this reason. The civil service is recruited on the basis of merit and as such, its socio-economic composition can never match the ideal. The closer the society is to such a goal the more responsive and responsible its civil service will be.

A country's higher civil service is inevitably manned by members of the middle class in the society. Where the civil service constitutes an elite structure it comes from the upper middle class—as in Great Britain. In the U.S.A., it does not enjoy that high a social status, so it is represented by the middle class in its social composition. In India the middle class is narrowly based, which tends to make the country's civil service also less representative. The long-term remedy lies in expanding the middle class in the society.

Of course, education is a critically important input in broadening the social base of the civil service. The civil service reform should, therefore, attach the highest importance to the type and extent of education to the individual. In India, the best type of educational facilities are generally cornered by the elite and the disadvantaged groups are given inferior facilities.

[1]Paul P. Van Riper: *History of the United States Civil Service*, Row Peterson, Evanston, 1958, p. 552.

Reservation

The provision for quotas in legislative bodies, civil services, educational institutions and other public institutions, typically in proportion to the percentage in the population.

Reservation policy in India is based on consciously planned preferences, which may be based on ascriptive criteria like ethnicity,

gender and even on geographical location. Recourse to it is taken to compensate for persistent discrimination or socio-economic mobility being an act of deliberately designed social engineering. Such preferential policies are in observance in a few countries, both developed and developing. The United States calls it the policy of positive or affirmative action. It is known as 'Bhumiputra preferences' in Malaysia. India calls it the policy of reservation.

The reservation system in India derives its rationality from the prevalent caste system, the most ubiquitous social institution of India with its spillover in all walks of life though it is not the sole base as is shown in this article. But when caste emerges as the base of preferential treatment, it sets in motion an apparently interminable chain effect spawning in the process an endless search for equivalents, the sole motivation being the carving out of more and more exclusive enclosures. As India's reservation system is based on caste, one must note that the caste system is hierarchical, the four most marginalised categories being the 'Untouchables', 'Harijans', 'Dalits' or the scheduled castes (SCs) in the language of the Constitution. Each caste is a cluster of numerous sub-castes, and it is the sub-castes to which one seeks ready affiliation and association. The number of castes thus varies from 2,000 to 3,000, some claiming only a few hundred individuals to larger groups numbering a few millions. McKim Marriott and Ronald Inden put the estimate between 5,000 and 15,000. Some castes are confined to a particular locality while others are spread over all parts of India.

The higher castes (a term which includes brahmins, kshatriyas and vaishyas) constitute 17.6 per cent of the Indian population according to the 1991 census. The sudras, the fourth caste comprising workers and peasants, account for half of India's population. The SCs constitute 16.48 per cent of the total population according to the 1991 census.

History of reservation policy in India

Reservation claims a longer history in India than is generally believed. Reservation policy has been a by-product of the British style and system of governance in India, more particularly in social and economic spheres. Educational institutions in India began to be set up by the state consequent on the official declaration, in 1836, that English will be India's official language. It was in 1856 that a lower-caste boy took admission in an educational institution in Dharwad, then in the

Bombay Presidency. This stirred a protest in the caste-ridden local society, which forced the foreign ruler to formulate a definite policy in this regard. The public policy announced was to open admission in educational institutions to all without any distinction of caste, religion and race. In 1872, the policy was elaborated and made absolutely clear with the passage of the Caste Disability Act. One may, thus, note the unhindered admission of lower castes and weaker sections of the society. Thus, in south India, educational reform preceded the reservation policy and the leadership in this respect was provided by the various social reform movements underway for quite some time in Madras, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, etc.

Roots in Princely Mysore State and Government of India Act, 1919

Reservation in government jobs in India began not in British India but in what was known as Indian India. The old princely state of Mysore had introduced reservation of jobs in the government as early as in 1874 though in a selective way: it had reserved 20 per cent of lower- and middle-level posts in the police department for brahmins and the remaining 80 per cent for non-brahmins, Muslims, and Indian Christians. This measure was the first conscious attempt to break the brahmin monopoly in the state public service.

Reservation in elected bodies began with the passage of the Government of India Act, 1919. This statute for the first time provided certain privileges for Muslims. It was the old Karnataka (known as Mysore State) where a policy of reservation in educational institutions and in government jobs was first put into motion in the twenties of the century. Earlier, in 1918, the Maharaja of Mysore set up what was adequate representation of non-brahmins in the public service of the princely state.

From princely India, the reservation arrangement travelled to British India. The year 1918 is significant in this respect. The Montagu-Chelmsford report, 1918, recognised the claims for separate representation only for Sikhs. At the same time, the Franchise Committee (1918–19) recommended nomination of members of depressed classes (present-day SC) to each provincial assembly. But the Government of India Act, 1919, was the first statute of the British government to have provided for representation in the legislative bodies of depressed classes, Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and aborigines (that is the tribes). The Government of India

Act, 1935, further consolidated the policy of communal representation in elective bodies. In 1932, came the Communal Award of Ramsay MacDonald creating separate communal electorates for depressed classes, Sikhs and Muslims. Gandhi undertook a fast unto death against the Communal Award separating as it did the harijans from the mainstream Hindus. Explaining his stand, Gandhi said:

> We do not want the untouchables to be classified as a separate class. The Sikhs may remain such in perpetuity. So may the Muslims and so may Europeans. Would the untouchables remain untouchables in perpetuity? I would far rather prefer that Hinduism died than untouchability lived.[1]

The Poona Pact

To save Gandhi, the Gandhi-Ambedkar Pact, also called the Poona Pact, was signed, which superseded the MacDonald Communal Award. The present reservation of seats in the elected bodies is in a way a reminder of the Gandhi-Ambedkar agreement of 1932. Dr B.R. Ambedkar was insisting on reserved electorates for 'depressed castes', which Mahatma Gandhi opposed. The British government in India adopted the Ambedkar stand which Gandhi protested by undertaking a 'fast unto death'. Ultimately a bargain was struck. The Gandhi-Ambedkar Accord provided for integrated electoral rolls but with a considerably increased number of reserved seats. The Gandhi-Ambedkar Pact provided for adequate representation of the depressed castes in the country's legislature. The pact allotted to the depressed classes more seats in the provincial and central legislatures, much more than demanded by Ambedkar but voting was by a joint, not separate, electorate.

Religious minority groups, such as Muslims, had secured communal reservations during pre-independent India. Indeed, on 11 July 1947, the U.P. Government under Govind Ballabh Pant decided to withdraw the reservations given to minorities in the civil service under the provincial government.[2] The creation of Pakistan in 1947 made India free to declare itself a secular state, and in the process the hitherto observed policy of reservation for Muslims and 'other religious minorities', was terminated. Under the Constitution, thus, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (SCs and STs) and later other backward classes (OBCs) are the only groups identified as eligible for constitutionally mandated quotas.

The Constitution of India

The key value of the Indian Constitution is equality, that is the principle of equal treatment and protection to all. Article 14 guarantees the right to equality for all. To enforce this further, the subsequent Article prohibits discrimination on grounds 'of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them'. Article 16 ensures equality of opportunity for all in matters relating to employment under the state. Equally strong is the Constitution-makers' concern towards the upliftment of the backward sections of the society: Article 46, placed in the list of the directive principles of the state policy, commits the state to 'promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular of the SC and ST' and their protection 'from social injustice and all forms of exploitation'. By upholding both these principles, the Constitution has put in bold relief the need to reconcile the seemingly contradictory goals—the goal of equality with the one for preference. This needed to be tested. And, this test came within a year of the enforcement of the Constitution. In the State of Madras, Vs. Champakam Dorairajan (1951), the Supreme Court regarded the policy of reservation of seats in a professional school as violative of the equality clauses. This led to the first amendment of the Constitution in 1951 adding Section 4 to Article 15, which reads: 'Nothing in this Article ... shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally BC of citizens or the SC and ST'. The amendment was upheld by the court in the famous Balaji Vs. State of Mysore case.

The Draft Constitution of India, published in 1948, provided for the reservation of seats in the legislative bodies for the Muslims, the SCs and STs. A similar provision was envisaged for the Anglo-Indians also. While reservation in legislative bodies at the centre and in the states was compulsory, it was provided in the civil service also but it was subject to being 'consistent with the maintenance of efficiency of administration'. The stipulated reservation for the Muslims was, however, completely deleted in the final Constitution. The Constitution, as adopted in 1950, provided for reservation for the SCs and STs in the legislative bodies. The civil service reservation was, however, made discretionary. Article 335 said: 'The claims of the members of the SC and ST shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of

administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of the State'.

Reservation is vast in its scope. It covers large areas of public life at all levels of government, including reservation of seats in the elective democratic bodies, like parliament and state legislatures, reservation for admission to educational institutions, including scientific and technical institutions, and reservation in recruitment to the country's public services, both at the union and state level.

Reservation in the public service

Reservation in the public service has a long history in India as it dates back to the colonial period. Reservation of jobs began to be thought of with the beginning of democracy in the twenties. Patronage, as the criterion of public recruitment, gave way to merit as proven through a competitive examination in all the modern nations in the later part of the nineteenth century. In India, merit was adopted as the established basis of public recruitment, thanks to the celebrated Macaulay report on the Indian Civil Service. Reporting in 1854, the Macaulay committee said: 'Hitherto the admissions (to the Indian Civil Service) have been given by favour. They are henceforward to be gained by superiority in an intellectual competition.' The committee opined that the intellectual test was also the best moral test—'early superiority in science and literature generally indicates the existence of some qualities which are securities against vice; industry, self-denial, a taste for pleasures not sensual, a laudable desire of honourable distinction, a still more laudable desire to obtain the approbation of friends and relations'.[3]

Grounding in welfare orientation

The welfare orientation of the nation's policy-makers in the years immediately following independence was a legacy of the larger social animations permeating the national freedom movement. When India drafted its Constitution, the social concerns were loud and vivid. Almost in every sphere of governance, the newly emerged nation-state engaged itself in developing an interventionist role of social engineering. As a part of this process, policy-makers earmarked a certain percentage of jobs in public institutions for the disadvantaged groups. This policy is variously called as positive discrimination, reverse discrimination, etc.

Here, we need to clarify our understanding of the term 'discrimination'. Discrimination is

defined as a different and elective application (or disregard) of rights, laws or organisational policies to potential or actual employees. Reverse discrimination is 'preferential treatment of individuals or groups who had previously been discriminated against'.

The setting apart of a fixed number of posts in the public services for the members of the SC has been a firm administrative policy in the central government since 1943. (There was no reservation for the STs under the Raj). These concessions principally acquired three forms:

1. 8⅓ per cent of vacancies in the public services were reserved for the members of these castes;
2. The maximum age limit for recruitment to public service was raised by three years for them; and
3. The fee prescribed for admission to an examination or selection in connection with recruitment was reduced to one-fourth in their case.

This, together with the reservation in promotion fixed since 1968, continues to be the basic framework of concessions allowed to the SCs, notwithstanding the variations in the percentages which are determined on the basis of their number in the total population of the country. In 1946, the reservation of 8⅓ per cent was raised to 12½ per cent. In August 1947, when India emerged as a free country, this continued to be the percentage of reservation in case of direct recruitment through an open competition, while in case of recruitment other than by competition the principal communities in the country were given appointments in proportion to their population. In the case of recruitment to class III and class IV posts, normally attracting candidates from a locality or a region, the percentages of reservation was fixed on the basis of the proportion of SCs to the population of that state.

Announcement of 1950

In 1950, the government formally announced its policy on the recruitment of SCs and STs in the public bureaucracy. It did not break any new ground but codified the existing reservation percentages affirming, at the same time, that 'orders regarding reservation of vacancies in favour of the various communities will not apply to recruitment by promotion which will be continued to be made as heretofore irrespective of communal considerations and on the basis of seniority and/or merit as the case may be'.[4] The resolution observed: 'The policy of the Government of India in regard to communal representation

in the services immediately before the coming into force of the new Constitution was that in appointments made by open competition, 12½ per cent of the vacancies filled by direct recruitment were reserved for candidates belonging to the SC while in regard to posts and services for which recruitment was made otherwise than by competition, the principal communities in the country were given appointments in proportion to their population. Certain reservations were also made for Anglo-Indians in services with which they had special past associations. The Government of India has now reviewed its policy in this regard in the light of the provisions of the Constitution which lays down, inter alia, that 'with certain exceptions, no discrimination shall be made in the matter of appointments to the Services under the State on grounds of race, religion, caste, etc. The exceptions are that special provision shall be made for SC and ST in all services and for Anglo-Indians in those services in which they had special reservations on August 14, 1947.'[5] Except for raising the maximum age by five years, the contents of concessions did not undergo any change until 1970. In that year, the share in public services was increased to 15 per cent in case of direct recruitment made by open competition on an all-India basis, but the percentage of 16⅔ prescribed for the other category of recruitment remained unchanged.

Mention here must be made of certain watchdog functionaries enshrined in the Constitution of India. The Constitution stipulated the appointment of a special officer for the SCs and STs. This was provided under Article 338 of the Constitution. In 1990, the Constitution was amended under the Constitution Act, 1990 (sixty-fifth amendment) under which the special officer's post under Article 338 was terminated and in its place a new multi-member body, the National Commission for SC and ST, was created. Mention also needs to be made of three parliamentary committees set up in 1966, 1971 respectively, to look after the welfare of SCs and STs and other BCs. This has now become a standing committee under the name of Standing Committee of Parliament on Labour and Welfare. A number of voluntary organisations are also operating in this field, the more prominent among them being the Harijan Sewak Sangh, Ramakrishna Mission, Bhartiya Adimjati Sewak, Bhartiya Samaj, etc. In 1995–96, over 330 voluntary organisations received a total grant of Rs 10.83 crore.

Categories of reservation

The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes

India has about 250 officially, recognised tribes speaking 105 district languages and 225 subsidiary languages. They constitute 7.8 per cent of the total population.

Although both the SCs and STs are given concessional treatment in the field of public employment, the underlying objectives are different. The tribes have been living in isolation from the national mainstream, and the special facilities devised for them are basically intended to forge their emotional integration with the rest of Indian society. To accelerate this process, reservation in the public services was started in 1950 with the enforcement of the Constitution—unlike that for the SCs which dates back to the year 1943. The percentage of reservation was five for the ST members both in recruitment by open competition which was raised to seven and a half. As in the case of the SCs, reservation exists in promotion also, the percentage being seven and a half.

As a result of the reservation policy underway since the commencement of the Constitution, a considerable increase in the representation of the SCs and STs has been registered both in terms of absolute number, and percentage of the total number of employees under the central government.

To recall, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes numbering 16.8 per cent and 7.8 per cent of the country's population respectively constitute the low-pressure area of the Indian society. Scheduled castes have been repressed and suppressed for ages, warranting additional efforts to bring them on par with the rest of the society. The case for special care for the scheduled tribes rests on a different footing. They have lived a life of isolation from the mainstream. Being late to come in the national mainstream, they need some concessionary treatment, at least in the beginning.

Scheduled castes yet do not have an agreed nomenclature. In the beginning they were called 'chandals', 'avarnas', 'achuts', 'pariahs', 'untouchables', 'outcastes'. Later on, they were called 'depressed classes', the term being popularised by missionaries and social reformers in the first two decades of the twentieth century. B.R. Ambedkar regarded this term as degrading and contemptuous and suggested five alternatives—non-caste Hindus, protestant Hindus, non-conformist Hindus, excluded castes, and exterior castes. In the thirties, the term 'Harijans' was popularised by Mahatma Gandhi and under his leadership, by the Indian

National Congress. This term was regarded as patronising, an indicator of upper-caste benevolence. Later, the government chose the term 'scheduled castes', which connotes a schedule of castes. This term is used as a nomenclature in the Constitution of the Republic of India. At present, the term 'dalit', is a popular choice.

The term 'dalit' was popularised in the early 1970s by the Dalit Panthers, a militant organisation. To mobilise a large number of people the term was given a broader connotation including scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, neo-Buddhists, working-class people, poor peasants, indeed, all those who are economically exploited.

Reservation of jobs in public service has a longer history in India than is generally imagined. It first began during the British rule and that too in what was known as 'Indian India'. The princely state of Mysore introduced reservation in the police department for the lower castes in the year 1874. So far as the Government of India is concerned, reservation of jobs for scheduled castes has been a firm policy since 1943, the percentage fixed being 8⅓. Reservation for scheduled tribes is independent India's policy.

Reservation of jobs in the government for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes since the inception of the Constitution is a constitutional requirement. It is provided under Article 16 and 335 of the Constitution. It is thus mandatory. Percentages have been prescribed for SCs, STs and OBCs in all direct recruitment. Reservation in promotions was introduced subsequently; it came into effect in 1969.

The total reservation for all the three categories—SCs, STs and OBCs—cannot exceed 50 per cent of the vacancies including backlog vacancies in a year. It is 15 per cent, 7.5 per cent and 27 per cent for SCs, STs and OBCs, respectively. Relaxation in regard to qualifying marks and standards of evaluation is not permitted in promotions but is allowed in the matter of direct recruitment.

As said earlier, reservation in promotion allowed since 1969 could not continue beyond November 1997, according to a Supreme Court judgment. The Constitution was amended in 1995 to overrule the Supreme Court judgment. Thus, reservation in the matter of promotion as a result continues as before.

Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are given other facilities and concessions such as:

1. Relaxation in upper age limit;
2. Unlimited number of chances;

3. Exemption from payment of examination fee;
4. Relaxation in standard of suitability;
5. Non-adjustment of meritorious SC/ST candidates against reserved vacancies for indirect recruitment.

Since 8 September 1993, reservation in direct recruitment has been extended to another category of a disadvantaged section namely the OBCs or other backward classes; the percentage for them being twenty-seven per cent of the vacancies. Reservation for backward classes has been provided in the civil service competitive examination since 1994.

Since 1991, two further provisions have been made for the poor in the country. While selecting backward class candidates, preference is to be given to the poorer sections among them. But the poor people are not clustered only in the backward classes. Ten per cent of the total vacancies are reserved for the economically backward sections of the people. OBCs get certain other relaxations too. They enjoy three years relaxation in the upper-age limit and may get up to seven chances.

Working of the reservation system

The reservation policy as concretised above has been in operation for a long time and it is but natural to analyse its working. In the earlier years of the new-born Republic shortage of qualified candidates from the reserved categories was experienced but this problem has been happily overcome over a period of time. All the reserved vacancies in the all-India and the central services are getting filled by candidates from the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. The following table shows the position in regard to the prestigious Indian Administrative Service for the period 1994–1998 (figures for subsequent years not yet published:

Year	*Indian Administrative Service*			
	Vacancies for SCs	*Filled*	*Vacancies for STs*	*Filled*
1998	7	7	3	3
1997	8	8	4	4
1996	12	12	6	6
1995	12	12	6	6
1994	12	12	6	6

The overall message is that a candidate from the disadvantaged sections are coming out from educational institutions in adequate numbers. But this is true in areas where general academic qualifications are the requirement. But candidates possessing more specialised professional qualifications may not be available in large enough numbers, though the shortage is becoming less and less over the years. The shortage is more marked in the case of

scheduled tribes particularly in areas/services where specialised professional qualifications are required. A secular position is that while the scheduled caste candidates are entering the civil service in growing numbers the position about the STs remains generally unsatisfactory. The root cause of the problem being their lifestyle. Tribals live in clusters and are reluctant to move away from their areas of habitation which are often remote and inaccessible. Perhaps, a policy may be formulated of posting STs near their hometown. This is perfectly feasible for labour-intensive departments like railways, posts, telecommunications, etc. Also, the government agencies located in tribal belts may give preference to tribal people for employment in the lower-category posts.

As regards the working of the reservation system in matter of promotions, the record is not very satisfactory. The UPSC annual report for 1994–1995 observes that 302 officers belonging to SC/ST were recommended against 409 vacancies for promotion; from (Group B) to (Group A) no SC/ST candidate could be recommended against 147 posts reserved for them because of the non-availability of suitable candidates. This signals a serious message to national policy-makers. The post-entry training of candidates from these categories has not been very effective nor has supervision been result-oriented.

The reservation of jobs has given rise to certain problems and issues which demand a coherent, well-considered policy. As reservation ensures easier entry into public service, more and more castes are agitating for inclusion in the scheduled lists. As the OBC (other backward classes) is a rather nebulous category, the pressure for inclusion in this charmed list is unrelenting. Today there is a scramble for the OBC status and, the agitation is bearing fruit also. In January 2000, as many as 132 castes have been added to the list of OBCs on the recommendation of the National Commission for Backward Classes.

Equally vociferous is the demand for increasing the size of the cake. People want higher and higher reservation quota—the percentage of reservation should be increased to 17 per cent for SCs and 8 per cent for STs from the current 15 per cent and 7.5 per cent, respectively, on the basis of the 1991 census. The Constitution, it is further demanded, should be amended to provide reservation beyond 50 per cent.

The scheduled caste and scheduled tribe lists are verily hold-all lists, being a collection of castes with little internal homogeneity in them (except their backwardness!).

In other words, there are upper castes and lower castes in the list and the advantages of relaxation have been predominantly reaped by the upper castes among them. Those who have been benefitted the most are called the 'creamy layer' and a growing demand is that this category of benefit-reapers must be de-schedulised. A feeble attempt has been made, but a firmer approach is imperative, more so when powerful vote banks around them have come up in the country.

The public sector is the main road to economic and political empowerment of SCs, STs and OBCs. These reservation-beneficiaries oppose liberalisation and privatisation. They demand reservation in the private sector as well. A demand is equally made for a sub-quota for SC and ST women in the Women's Reservation Bill.

As the recruitment for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes takes place on relaxed standards of qualifications, the need for their additional tutoring is urgent. Special well-focussed coaching along with watchful supervision would enable them to come up to the standards of the general candidates. Presently, a penumbra of doubtful efficiency surrounds these categories, which must be dispelled. While all categories of public personnel, today, need training—and retraining—it is a special need for those who have entered through lowered standards.

A reference has already been made of the creamy layer but it requires a somewhat detailed discussion. As directed by the Supreme Court, the Government of India appointed on 22 February 1993 a four-member committee called 'Expert Committee for Specifying the Criteria for Identification of Socially Advanced Persons Among the Socially and Socially Economically BC' under the chairmanship of Justice Ram Nandan Prasad. The Creamy Layers Committee submitted its eleven-page report on 10 March 1993 in which it recommended exclusion of the following categories of persons from the list of beneficiaries.

1. Children of the president, vice-president, judges of the Supreme Court and high courts, chairman/members of the Union Public Service Commission and State Public Service Commission, chief election commissioner, comptroller and auditor-general of India and persons holding constitutional positions of like nature. (Surprisingly, the constitutional posts of governor, minister and members of legislatures were not excluded).

2. If either of the spouses is a Group A (that is, old class I) officer, their children will be excluded from the reservation benefits.
3. If both spouses are from Group B (that is, old class II), their children will attract exclusion provisions.
4. In case of employment in public sector undertakings, banks, insurance organisations, universities and other private employment with a comparable rank, similar treatment is to be accorded to their children as is the case with Group A and B employees.
5. The exclusion rule is to apply at the level and above the rank of colonel in the army and to equivalent posts in the navy and air force.
6. Similarly, children of professionals such as medical doctors, lawyers, chartered accountants, income-tax consultants, financial or management consultants, architects, etc., should remain excluded.
7. In case of agricultural landholding, children of those holding land above a particular size should also be kept out of the benefits.

These recommendations were adopted by the government and the first recruitment for the reserved quota for BCs was made in 1994. The controversy about reservation, however, did not end. Tamil Nadu under the AIADMK was not reconciled to the 50 per cent ceiling on reservation and instead, demanded 69 per cent reservation—a stand it has been taking for some time. The Government of India relented, and obliged Tamil Nadu by passing what is known as the eighty-fifth amendment to the Constitution in August 1994 and what is more, by placing it in the ninth schedule of the Constitution, thus repulsing the armoury of judicial review. Reservation of jobs for BCs has indeed, opened the Pandora's box and there is a thoughtless competition for including more and more castes in the list of BCs. The ninth schedule of the Constitution is also becoming a shield as items placed in it are not subject to judicial review.

[1]Sittaramaihya, Pattabhi: *The History of the Congress*, vol. I, Allahabad, The Congress Working Committee, 1935, p. 538.

[2]*The Statesman*, 11 July 1947. One must note that on 4 July 1947 Great Britain introduced the India Independence Bill in the British parliament, creating two independent dominions of India and Pakistan.

[3]See S.R. Maheshwari, *A History of Indian Administration*, New Delhi, Orient Longman.

[4]Resolution No. 42/21/49-NGS

dated 13 September 1950, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.

[5] *Ibid.*

Resident

It was a regular practice of the British government in India to appoint a senior British officer in a princely state to keep, among others, a general watch over his charge to ensure a reasonably orderly and efficient administration. The resident had a variety of functions to perform—according to many, greater than those of even a district collector. His responsibilities included the settlement of succession to the *Gaddi*, the government of the princely state during the immaturity or infirmity or incapacity of a ruler, suppression of disorder in the princely state or of a mutiny of the state troops in addition to the diplomatic duties.

Responsive Administration

Man evolved a system of regulating and even controlling his life when, after discarding a life of isolation and loneliness he began coexisting with fellow human beings. The development of the community thus induced him to contrive a pattern of governance to direct his affairs. From such a viewpoint, government can be considered as old as society itself—ushering government into society as well as society in government.

Of all the forms of government practised by mankind, democracy has been the youngest, being at best, a product of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Democracy, in the modern institutional form, first originated in Great Britain, a country which is respectfully regarded as its earliest home. But it is only in the present twentieth century that democracy is able to acquire its representative character. On closer analysis, this democracy in its earlier phase was an open-ended oligarchy, no more than this. Blacks did not enjoy the right to vote. Women were enfranchised in various countries only between the two world wars. France enfranchised its women as late as 1945. Belgium conferred voting rights on its women in 1949. In a cross-cultural study on democracy conducted in 1951 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), it triumphantly concluded: 'For the first time in history, democracy is claimed as the proper, ideal description of all systems of political and social organisation'.[1] Democracy proved to be an expanding phenomenon.

Democracy as visualised, even practised, was political, its external symbols being periodic elections based on adult franchise with no

discrimination based on religion, race, sex or beliefs. Freedom of expression was unabridged.

This conception of democracy was discovered to be narrow, weak and inadequate with the passage of time. Democracy, in order to be viable and acceptable was to include and articulate social and economic concerns also. Society was moving from individualism to collectivism, which could not but influence the agenda of democracy also.

Democracy is a dynamic, even demanding concept, never static in its contents and connotations. Since the eighties a new wave is in evidence of which the most notable feature is a shift from mere government to governance. The latter is a broader concept covering themes such as judicial review, due process, public interest litigation, etc.

Newer concerns such as ethics in administration, accountability, openness, client-friendliness, etc., animate public administration. Among these new vibrations ranks responsive administration. The term became popular since 1986 when a conference of chief secretaries of states was organised in Delhi at the instance of Rajiv Gandhi. The department given the responsibility of promoting this attribute is the department of administrative reforms and public grievances in the Government of India.

Responsive administration should not be confused with responsible government. These two terms are organically interlinked and inter-twined. But they are separate. Responsible government is a political concept and carries a definite connotation. It is a macro-concept. Responsive administration basically exists at the cutting age of public administration. It is a micro-level concept deriving its credibility and validity from the delivery system of a country's public administration. Responsive administration is best defined by Mahatma Gandhi:

> I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt or when the self becomes to much for you, try the following expedient. Recall the face of the poorest and the most helpless man whom you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to swaraj or self-rule for the hungry and spiritually starving millions of our country-men? Then you will find your doubts and yourself melting away.[2]

Responsive administration is

an apparently moral concept in public administration inasmuch as it calls for public functionaries' accountability directly to the people. Responsive administration entails a mechanism of redressal of grievances also. Mahatma's talisman, thus, is the acid test of responsive administration. Citizen empowerment constitutes the single most critical element of responsive administration.

The problem of administrative responsiveness is to be addressed within the larger social context. The present national scenario has to reckon with certain parameters of which the two are of paramount concern.

1. First is economic liberalisation to which India has been firmly committed since the nineties.
2. The second parameter in the governing framework is the constitutionalisation of local government as a result of the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments.
   Responsiveness is to be operationalised within this larger context.
3. The third deals with the contents of responsive administration. Attempts to bring about citizen satisfaction is reflected in the catchy expression 'service with a smile, not by a mile'. Since the seventies, particularly, public administration is showing greater interest towards customers' (or consumer) satisfaction measured in the quality of service delivery, client perception of service quality and consumer satisfaction. Quality of service in public administration is reported to be poor even in the industrialised countries of the West and what is worse it is deteriorating despite the existence of the free market. In developing countries like India, the quality of service is appalling. The entire service sector is perceived as being most insensitive to citizen expectations.
4. Responsive administration explicitly acknowledges the citizen-sovereignty in administrative dealings and relationships. This orientation is its chief component, the other being well-defined constitutional mechanisms for redressal of citizen grievances. Public administration is already seeing the emergence of devices like representative bureaucracy, lok adalats, consumer courts, citizens' charter, etc. These must be strengthened and made effective. A citizen's charter laid down a code of practice in delivery systems. It seeks to redefine the

citizen as a customer and improves responsiveness and performance in the public services. It establishes minimum standards of public service reflecting the following six principles of social rights:

1. fair treatment
2. entitlement
3. participation
4. openness
5. public administration
6. cooperation

Responsive administration is a concept which needs emulation in all administrations. Its need is however, much more obvious in a developing country like India with its long colonial background resting on a stiff-necked bureaucracy. Attributes of responsive administration must thus permeate all levels and sectors of public administration, but, the need for citizen-friendly administration is most pressing at the cutting edge of administration: the countless points where administration and citizens daily meet. At present, in most parts of the country, the contact points between citizens and administration are virtually a hacking point: a point of apparently endless harassment for the people, especially those who are on the fringe of development.

This, among others, calls for an attitudinal change in the country's bureaucracy, and nowhere perhaps is it more necessary than in those constituting field administration. The field-level professionals are called upon to cultivate citizen-oriented attitudes. In addition, they must also possess and continually cultivate higher measures of administrative skills and subject-matter capabilities. This calls for large-scale changes in the public personnel practices and strengthening of the present tenure system. District administration must be rejuvenated and activated to enlist the goodwill of the local people.

Policy-making should show sensitiveness to citizen's problems and must not be influenced by extra-national interests. Here, I must make a mention of the new economic policy underway since 1990, requiring cultivation of new skills, knowledge and orientations and new equilibrium between administration and the people.

[1]UNESCO: *Democracy in a World of Tensions*, 1957, p. 527.

[2]Tendulkar, G.D.: *Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, vol. VIII, Bombay, Times of India, p. 88.

Retirement

Refers to withdrawal from the workforce and heralding the end of one's active life.

Reverse Culture Shock

When an employee returns to

his home country after an extended stay abroad, he may experience what has been called the reverse culture shock. Things may have changed significantly or substantially in the home country.

Lord Ripon

George Frederick Samuel Robinson, afterwards Marquess of Ripon was governor-general and viceroy of India during 1880–1884. In 1882, he issued a resolution making local government self-governing. Hailed as the magna carta, Lord Ripon's resolution of 1882, views local government as 'an instrument of political and popular education' thus making its architect the father of local self-government in India. Lord Ripon is chiefly remembered for his act of decentralisation of administration and giving financial control to local bodies.

Robot

A machine capable of acting automatically. Robot means a machine that does mechanical repetitive tasks on command. It thus operates automatically with human-like skill. A robot is thus a machine in a factory that can be programmed to carry out a variety of tasks which are normally done by human beings. Thanks to the advancement of technology, man has now a machine that looks and works like a human being. The demand for robots is growing, the countries leading in its use being the U.S.A., Japan, Germany, South Korea, Italy, etc. In 1988, 720, 400 robots were being used worldwide of which 411,800 were in Japan only.

Role Playing

A teaching technique in which students are presented with a situation which they resolve by acting out the roles of those concerned in this situation. Role playing is a specific technique of training people in interpersonal relations. It is the acting out of a particular social role in order to understand the role of the person better.

Rolling Plan

Indira Gandhi clamped internal emergency on India in 1975 which continued until 1977. She was ousted from power in 1977, and the rule by the Janata Party under Morarji Desai began. The Fifth Five Year Plan which was in operation around this time was terminated a year earlier. The Planning Commission was reconstituted and the process of plan-making too was changed. In April 1978, the Planning Commission announced the concept of a rolling plan. Under a rolling plan, financial targets for the coming 5 to 15 years were formulated and altered on an annual basis. Plans

were no longer called as fifth, sixth or seventh five year plans but were instead constantly re-adjusted on the basis of successes, failures and new opportunities available from year to year.

Rowdy List

A register in the police thana which includes the names of all the persons involved in scuffles and rioting. These registers are maintained in police stations.

Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India 1923–24

Also known as the Lee commission after the name of its chairman, the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India was appointed in 1923, to consider the political demand for further Indianisation of civil services for reasons of economy and to provide security of services to the European members of the civil services. The most important outcome of the Lee recommendations was the extension and expansion of the provincial services. This was partly a consequence of provincialisation of many all-India services. Dyarchy and the demand for full provincial autonomy led to the expansion of the provincial services.

Rule of Lapse

According to the rule of lapse, the unspent balance of one financial year lapses at its end and thus cannot be carried forward to the succeeding year. This implies that no reserve funds can be accumulated without legislative authorisation. The rule of lapse is viewed as a prerequisite to effective legislative control over finance. If the unspent balance of one year becomes available for subsequent years, the departments could accumulate funds at least for sometime and thus secure independence of the legislative control. At the same time, this rule entails a serious lapse. It hinders the efficient planning of public expenditure. In a bid to prevent the lapse of the budgetary grant, a department rushes through expenditure at the end of the financial year with little regard for its urgency or reality.

Russud

A progressively increasing land tax or jumma.

Ryot

Peasant, cultivator, subject.

Ryotwar

A money settlement with ryots of a village individually.

S

Sadar or Sadr

Civil judge during the Mughal rule.

Sala

Room, living room, parlour, auditorium. Fred Riggs formulated his famous 'sala' model of bureaucracy to refer to the administration of transitional societies like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, etc. The sala model of bureaucracy is characterised by heterogeneity, formalism and is overlapping.

Sampling

Examination of a selection of items from a larger number of similar items, with the objective of judging the quality of the whole on the basis of the sample.

Sanad

Royal or government charter, order, grant or patent.

Sarkar

A number of villages, in north India, together form a *pargana*; a certain number of parganas is known as *chakla* (chukla); of these a certain number form a *sarkar*, and a few sarkars form a *subah* or province. The term is often used to mean the government. Sarkar was part of the territorial division of a province under the Mughals.

Sarvodaya

Gandhian socialism.

Satellite Town

A planned urban community located near a large city, built to contain housing, business and other facilities to make it self-contained and to afford relief to the core city. Planned as an anti-magnet.

Satisficing

Coined by Herbert Simon, it is derived from the words 'satisfy' and 'suffice'. This is a choice situation in which the decision taken is one which minimally satisfies the necessary requirements. The decision suffices rather than optimises. A satisficing man is the administrative man who recognises the limitations of human cognitive capacities. In other words, a decision-maker does not search for the sharpest needle in the haystack—he selects one that is sharp enough to sew with. Satisficing is

finding a course of action that is good enough.

Scapegoating

Scapegoat refers to a person or group made to bear the blame for others and to suffer in their place. The term originated from the practice among the ancient Hebrews, who once in a year symbolically laid all the sins of the people on a goat and let it loose in the wilderness. This was a purification ritual for the Jewish community. Scapegoating occurs when a person or group is irrationally blamed for another person's or group's faults or difficulties. Hitler, for instance, used the Jews as scapegoat for the Germans.

Scientific Management

The scientific study of 'principles' of administration was first attributed to Frederick W. Taylor (1856–1915). What is called scientific management was originally referred to as the Taylor system or task and bonus management. These terms were later replaced by 'scientific management' after the hearings before the Inter-State Commerce Commission in 1910–11. Taylor was mainly concerned with time study and rest pauses. It was Frank and Lillian Gilbreth who gave attention to the motions of workers and invented scientific apparatuses such as stopwatch, cinematography, cyclegraph, stereocyclegraph.

Taylor's scientific management was heavily based on incentive schemes, which had their serious weaknesses. Taylor extolled economic incentives at the expense of other non-economic factors, forgetting that these do matter in human happiness such as personal liberty. The uniformity of movements or monotony of continually handling the material can never be compensated for by economic incentives, which must go side by side with social and welfare incentives.

Scientific management aroused opposition also because of its over-reliance on mechanisms like stopwatch. Indeed, scientific management practically signified mechanisms associated with it, like the timing devices, instruction cards and the use of functional foremen. Taylor's original intention —namely that scientific management should involve a 'complete mental revolution, both on the part of the management and of the men'—was in the process obscured and forgotten. Dwight Waldo[1] identified the following four major principles of scientific management:

1. The development of a true science;
2. The scientific selection of workmen;
3. The scientific education and

development of workmen; and

4. Intimate, friendly cooperation between the management and the men.

Yet another weakness of scientific management lay in its orientation towards quantity, in the sense 'speeding up' was encouraged; workers were urged to work harder and faster. As a consequence, the worker was deprived of the traditional reward of craftsmanship.

It is significant that scientific management did not influence industrial relations in India. India was a colony of the British. The British rulers were never enamoured of Taylorism, their attitude to it being 'vague, cool and distant', in the words of Rasamund Thomas.[2]

[1]Waldo, Dwight. *The Administrative State*, New York, Ronald Press, 1948, pp. 49–50.

[2]Thomas, Rasamund. *The British Philosophy of Administration*, Cambridge, Centre for Business and Public Sector Ethics, 1989, edition, p. 15.

Secretariat

The secretariat is the nerve-centre of the government, being its highest office. Indeed, in the technical sense the secretariat is the Government of India. It controls and gives unity to the whole administration. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1881) compiled by W. Hunter writes: 'From the secretariat are issued the orders that regulate or modify the details of administration; into the secretariat come the multifarious reports from the local officers, to be digested for future reference'. (*Imperial Gazetter of India*, vol. IV, 1881, p. 437). The secretariat has both upward and downward linkages. On the top, the secretariat is linked with the council of ministers and ultimately with the president of India. The president is the head of the state. The secretariat underlies government departments, autonomous, semi-auto-nomous and public statutory bodies and subordinate offices.

The secretariat is divided into various ministries each of which consists of one or more departments under the charge of a minister. The business of government has been distributed among these ministries under the provisions of the Rules of Business. Under the secretariat's direct control and supervision, there are agencies for executing the policies of the government. Attached offices are basically executive agencies providing direction to the subordinate offices for the implementation of government policies. Attached offices are mostly based in Delhi for maintaining close liaison with their controlling ministry. The subordinate offices are spread all over the country being

responsible for implementation of government policies at the field level. They work under the direction of the attached offices and in a few cases the ministry itself.

To repeat, there are three structural formations in the government of India based on three distinct concepts. The secretariat is the policy-making body. The attached office is the repository of expert knowledge which it makes available to the former body for its policy-making task. The third formation is the subordinate office which is the implementing organ generally under the supervision and guidance of the attached offices. This is the general distinction between these three types of organisations. But there are some minor exceptions to the general rule.

Boards like the Railway Board and the P&T Board make policies and at the same time possess substantial technical knowledge being manned as they are by specialists. Thus professionally equipped, these boards themselves exercise closer supervision over the field-level personnel.

In addition, there are autonomous, semi-autonomous and public statutory bodies created under laws and rules for achieving specific objectives. These bodies may be of various types but normally they are either commercial, promotional or regulatory.

The secretary is the administrative head of a ministry. He acts as the principal adviser to the minister and is responsible for proper conduct of business allocated to his charge under the Rules of Business.

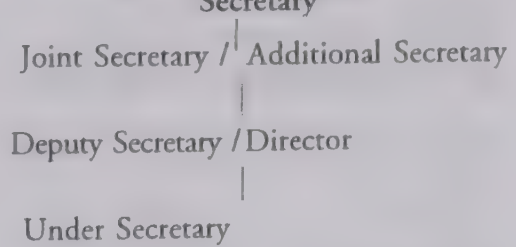
The secretariat consists of a number of ministries and departments, the precise number varying from time to time, depending on the volume and variety of business, work priorities, valuational disposition, political expediency, to name a few. The number of departments and ministries was 18 in 1947, which has risen to 81 in 2001, the increase being a broad measure of the increase in work. The expansion has been most marked in the sphere of developmental and promotional activities. The secretariat administers all these subjects enumerated in the union list of the Constitution. Besides, it also operates in the state list of subjects, its role being standard-setting and leadership.

The top management in the secretariat comprising the three levels of secretaryships, additional secretaryship and joint secretaryship is filled predominantly by members of the Indian Administrative Service but in technical and specialised departments the personnel are drawn from other services, too. In the departments of science and technology, for

instance, the secretary is a subject-matter expert. The functionaries of the middle-management, comprising the levels of directors, deputy secretaries and under secretaries are drawn from the IAS but to a decreasing extent, there being a more liberal sprinkling of officers belonging to various central services. The officers come on tenure and are thus birds of passage, so to say. The 'memory' is provided by the office comprising section officers, assistants, upper division and lower division clerks. The manning of the secretariat positions by different services is governed by administrative practice and is not mandatory. There is no reservation in favour of any particular service.

The classical levels of decision-making in the secretariat were at the levels of the under secretary, the deputy secretary and the secretary. The post of the joint secretary between the secretary and the deputy secretary existed as an exception and not as a general rule, and the only departments where the joint secretary existed were the home and the finance. In the years after independence the joint secretaryship gradually became a more or less regular feature in all the departments of the Government of India. This was defended to make his charge nearly independent, thereby making him almost a decision-maker within his charge, thus relieving his boss, the secretary of the less important work capable of disposal at a lower level.

In the sixties, however, the hierarchy underwent a change. There was stagnation at the level of the deputy secretary. To remove it, the posts of director and additional secretary were created. One should note that these new functionaries had not been recommended by any pay commission. But these were not designed as new levels in decision-making, in the sense that a deputy secretary was not to report to the director but would refer the file directly to the joint secretary. Under the same logic, a joint secretary would dispose of many matters at his own level and more important matters would be referred to the secretary. So, putting it in other words, the secretariat hierarchy was as follows:



The original scheme of arrangement could not be retained under extraneous pressures and the newly created levels became in the course of time rather regular levels in decision-making entailing, among others, delay and confusion.

Secretary to Government

The secretary to government is the topmost administrative position in the country's public administration, being the administrative head of a department in the Government of India/state. He works directly under the minister and is his principal adviser. His principal duty is to implement the policies and decisions made by the minister although he also participates in policy-making and is his adviser. He represents his department/ministry before the parliamentary committees. He is assisted by a complement of career civil servants, the hierarchy during the earlier British rule comprising, besides him, the deputy secretary and the under secretary. New levels have been added in course of time, and today, the secretariat department, whose presiding deity he is, consists of the following:

Secretary
|
Special Secretary/Additional Secretary
|
Joint Secretary
|
Director
|
Deputy Secretary
|
Under Secretary
|
Section Officer
|
Assistants
|
Upper Division Clerks, Lower Division Clerks

During the colonial times, the secretary's post was reserved for the Indian Civil Service. However, no such mandatory reservation exists in independent India. But most secretaries come from the Indian Administrative Service. A person appointed as secretary is generally in the age group of 52–54 and is thus left with 6 to 8 years for superannuation. The post of the secretary is one of fulfilment for a civil servant although secretaryship in the ministries of home, finance, defence and industry carry more social prestige.

The secretary to the Government of India is an administrative head of a department and is the principal adviser to the minister in all matters of policy and administration within the ministry. Where the volume of work in a ministry is large, one or more wings are established with an additional secretary or a joint secretary in charge of each wing. In such cases, the additional secretary or joint secretary functions, more or less, like a secretary in respect of all business falling within his charge, subject, however, to the general responsibility of the secretary for the administration of the ministry as a whole.

Self-actualisation

The term 'Self-actualisation' was first coined by Kurt Goldstein in 1939. Self-actualisation is

a tendency to become actualised in what one is potentially. In Maslow's words, 'this tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more what one idiosyncratically is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming'.

Sensitivity Training

It is a technique of training to induce changes in the attitudes and behaviours of group members necessary to improve interpersonal skills. Sensitivity training consists of three parts: 'unfreeze', 'change', and 're-freeze'.

Sepoy

A name given to the native infantry soldiers during the British period of rule. An Indian soldier under the British Raj disciplined and dressed in the British style.

Serinjammy

A yearly allowance made to the collector of a district for incidental charges.

Seth

Honorific title of a merchant, a banker, a trader.

Seven 'S' Model

The model was developed by Richard Pascale, Tom Peters and Robert Waterman to measure the quality of organisational performance. The model has seven dimensions—strategy, structure, systems, style, shared values, skills, and staff.

Seventy-Fourth Constitutional Amendment, 1992

The seventy-fourth constitutional amendment enacted in 1992 and operative since 1993 revamps the municipal government in India.

The amendment adds Part IX-A of the Constitution and constitutes a landmark in its checkered history. Its unique features may be summarised here:

1. Constitution of three types of municipalities, viz., nagar panchayats for transitional areas, municipal council for smaller urban areas and municipal corporation for larger urban areas.
2. Composition of municipalities provides for direct elections, representation of persons having special knowledge in municipal administration, representation of MPs, MLAs and MLSs, etc.
3. Constitution of ward committees in the municipalities having population of 3 lakhs or more.
4. Preservation of seats in every municipality for scheduled castes/scheduled tribes in proportion to their population, with not less than one-third of the total number of

seats reserved for women. State legislature could also provide for reservation of seats in favour of backward classes of citizens.

5. The term of municipalities have been prescribed as 5 years from the date appointed for its first meeting. The elections to constitute a municipality is required to be completed before the expiration of the duration of the municipality. If a municipality is dissolved before the expiration of five years, the election for constituting a new municipality will have to be completed within a period of six months from the date of dissolution.
6. State legislature to make laws for endowing the municipalities with such powers and authority, as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions or by self-government. Such laws may provide for devolution of powers and responsibilities to the municipalities for preparation of plans for economic development and social justice and for implementation of the schemes in relation to the following listed in the twelfth schedule of the Constitution:
   a. Urban planning including town planning.
   b. Regulation of land use and construction of buildings.
   c. Planning for economic and social development.
   d. Roads and bridges.
   e. Water supply for domestic, industrial and commercial purposes.
   f. Public health, sanitation conservancy and social waste management.
   g. Fire services.
   h. Urban forestry, protection of the environment and promotion of ecological aspects.
   i. Safeguarding the interests of the weaker sections of society including the handicapped and mentally retarded.
   j. Slum improvement and upgradation.
   k. Urban poverty alleviation.
   l. Provision of urban amenities, and facilities such as parks, gardens, and playgrounds.
   m. Promotion of cultural, educational and aesthetic aspects.
   n. Burials and burial grounds; cremations, cremation grounds and electric crematoriums.
   o. Cattle pounds; prevention of cruelty to animals.
   p. Vital statistics including

registration of births and deaths.

q. Public amenities including street lighting, parking lots, bus stops and public conveniences.

r. Regulation of slaughterhouses and tanneries.

7. Municipal government may impose taxes but only when specifically authorised by the state legislature by law. Other sources of revenue are tax sharing with the state government, and grants-in-aid.

8. The seventy-fourth amendment provides for the setting up of a state finance commission within one year from its commencement and thereafter at the expiration of every five years. This finance commission is to recommend distribution of revenue between the state government and the municipalities. It has also been laid down that the central finance commission would make specific recommendations about the augmenting of the resources of the state with a view to supplementing the resources of municipalities in the state.

9. A state election commission is set up to superintend, direct and control the preparation of the electoral rolls for and the conduct of, all election to panchayats and municipalities. This provision ensures regular and fair elections.

10. A district planning committee is constituted to undertake planning of the development of the district.

11. A provision is also made to constitute the metropolitan planning committee to prepare draft development plans for the metropolitan area as a whole. The last two provisions are designed to initiate local government into planning and thus to promote decentralised planning in the country.

To conclude, the seventy-third and seventy-fourth constitutional amendments seek to bring the country's local government—both rural and urban—close to the ideals which animated the Constituent Assembly of India. Local government now claims to be a third stratum of government, the other two being the central and state ones, thus making India the third country in the third world to have constitutionalised this neighbourhood level of governance. The other two developing countries which have constitutionalised their local government are Brazil and Nigeria.

Seventy-Third Amendment of the Constitution, 1992

The Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992, came into force with effect from 24 April, 1993, and all the states have passed conformity legislation and constituted state finance commissions. The main aims/features of the Act are:

1. The panchayat will be considered as potential institutions in a truly decentralised three-tier structure.
2. The village sabha shall be revived as the lifeline of the panchayats.
3. There will be direct election in all the three tiers of the governance of village, taluk and district levels.
4. There will be provision to empower women, SCs and STs by reservation of seats.
5. Each panchayat will have a tenure of five years and in case of dissolution by the state government fresh elections will be held within a period of six months.
6. The election to local bodies has to be conducted regularly.
7. There will be a separate election commission and also a finance commission for panchayats in every state.
8. It is obligatory on the part of the union and the state governments to provide sufficient financial resources for the panchayats to facilitate them to perform their assigned functions efficiently.
9. They will be assigned powers and responsibilities for the preparation of socio-economic development plans.

Before the Uttar Pradesh Panchayat Law (amendment) Bill, 1994, was passed, the central government had passed the Constitution Amendment Bill in 1992. In order to move in the direction of democratic decentralisation, under the three-tier system of panchayati raj, gram panchayats were established at the village level, the regional panchayat at the block level and zila parishad at the district level. In the context of U.P., these institutions were organised in the following manner. District level—zila parishad, block level—regional panchayat, village level—gram sabha, gram panchayat, nyay panchayat. The division of gram panchayats into three units was done so that multifaceted development could take place. These different units work in total cooperation and supplement each other.

Seyurghal

A jagir assignment, usually for life on certain lands for the whole part of the assessed revenue.

Shiv Sena

An activist organisation based

in Maharashtra. It was founded in 1966 in Bombay to protest against the south Indian immigration to the state.

Sheristadar

A court official who receives plaints and sees that they are in proper form and duly stamped. He is the head of the ministerial office of a court charged with receiving plaints and, generally, to attend to routine business.

Shorf-in-khas

Privy purse; the emperor's private expenditure.

Shroff

A native banker, a money charger.

Social Darwinism

Social Darwinism refers to Darwin's theory of natural selection in human society. Darwin's theory is that the fittest members of a species survive as they are able to successfully adjust to the environment. Social Darwinism means survival of the fittest in the society. This theory justifies the status quo, arguing that the poor are poor because they are meant to be poor. Supporting the *laissez faire* approach to society, the theory became popular in the United States of America in the nineteenth century.

Social Justice

The concept of social justice assumes the existence of social and economic differentiations in the community and thus refutes the concept of a homogeneous social formation. In short, social justice believes in an uneasy coexistence of stronger and weaker sections in the society and argues for effective measures for ameliorating the fate of the latter groups. A case for an action programme of this kind in rural development was first made by the Jay Prakash Narayan Committee (1961), which observed:

> The community development programme ... is beyond doubt a vital programme with important achievements to its credit. At best, however, it has been bi-focal, one focus being the block and the other comparatively progressive and well-to-do villages responsive to the beneficial change. The several shifts and changes that it has undergone, from time to time, have not materially altered the basic fact that it is tending to progress more as an ordinary development programme rather than a community development programme. The distinction is crucial.[1]

According to the members of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, the panchayati raj

institution has emerged as yet another agency to oppress the weaker sections of the society and deepen their dependence on the local elite upper castes. They even demanded that:

> the panchayati raj should be abolished; the functions, duties, schemes and rights relating to backward classes should be withdrawn from panchayati raj institutions and should be implemented through government or an autonomous body consisting of backward classes. A statutory committee under the chairmanship of the district collector outside the scope of the panchayati raj at the district level should be constituted for safeguarding the interests of such classes, and the representatives of backward classes belonging to panchayati raj institutions should be given the right to exercise 'veto' on their welfare.[2]

The Jinabhai Darji Committee of Gujarat before which these views were presented rejected this and instead recommended the formation of social justice committees consisting of SCs/STs at all the three tiers of panchayats, so that the welfare programmes for the benefit of weaker sections are effectively implemented.

This recommendation for the social justice committee was accepted by Gujarat and in 1976 it set up:

1. The Gujarat Taluka and District Panchayats Social Justice Committee
2. The Gujarat Gram and Nagar Panchayats Social Justice Committee. The chairman of the SJC is one of the elected members of the SJC belonging to SCs/STs.

The social justice committee in Gujarat has been but only modestly successful. It has broken new ground and thus enlarged the source of political recruitment and leadership at the grass-root level. The socio-economic background of these members is not very much different from the weaker sections in the rural community. The political behaviour of these leaders of deprived groups is imitative of the upper-caste leaders. They pattern their political lifestyle exactly after that of the upper-caste leaders whom they openly denounce in no uncertain terms.

[1]Quoted in Ghanshyam Shah: 'Panchayat Raj and the Dalits: A Study of Social Justice Committee in Gujarat', in *The Administrator*, vol. XLII, no. 1, January-March 1997, p. 155.

[2]Report of the (Darji Jinabhai) High Level Committee on Panchayati Raj, Gandhinagar, Government of Gujarat, 1973, p. 114.

Sod's Law

If something can go wrong, it will.

Software

Contrasted with hardware. A computer is hardware but the computer programme is the software. Similarly, the television is the hardware but the television programme is the software.

Solid Waste Management

The World Bank (see the working paper prepared by the Infrastructure and Urban Development Department of the World Bank)[1] defines municipal solid waste as 'the wastes arising from domestic, commercial, industrial and institutional activities in urban areas. The wastes can be solid, semi-solid and even liquid; generally, they include all those materials that are neither waste water discharge nor air emissions. Although waste characteristics vary by country and even by city in some countries, urban refuse in developing countries includes largely vegetable and putrescible matter as well as varying amounts of paper, metals, plastics, and inert matter such as coal ash, or sand. Unlike municipal refuse in developed countries, however, municipal waste streams in developing countries may also contain significant amount of faecal matter and to various extents, industrial, commercial and medical wastes, a portion of which may be hazardous'. Waste is a residue which may be in one of the three forms—liquid, gas or solid. Solid wastes are a threat to the environment and the problem plagues all countries, both developed and developing. Different products finally end up as wastes which have a negative impact on the environment. The solid waste services include refuse storage and collection, street and drain cleaning, solid waste transfer and transport, disposal and resource recovery. Effective solid waste management claims many advantages. It reduces or eliminates health risks, environmental degradation and impediment to productivity. The money spent on solid waste management is an investment in the sense that it reduces child mortality, improves human health and ensures quality of life. A need therefore, is felt for consciously formulating ways and methods of handling the waste in such a way that the trans-boundary movement of emissions is minimised. To work for the protection of human health, natural resources and the environment, an international forum was established in 1994—the International Solid Waste Association with nearly 75 countries of the world being its members.

[1]The World Bank, Infrastructure and Urban Development Department; Working Paper on 'Investments in Solid Waste Management: Opportunities for Environment Improvement' (By Carl Bartone, Janis Bernstein, and Frederick Wright), April 1990.

SAARC

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was established in 1985 with a membership consisting of seven countries in South Asia, namely Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. It is a rather recently established regional economic grouping, but it is the most popular with 1.424 billion people accounting for 22 per cent of the world population. This region is economically poor, accounting for only 1.65 per cent of the world's GDP and 1.12 per cent of the global trade (in the year 1996). The SAARC has its headquarters at Kathmandu.

Solid Waste

Becoming a serious problem in India, solid waste is but one form of waste, the other forms being liquid or gas. The per capita solid waste generated is 0.20 tonnes in Mumbai, 0.44 tonnes in Delhi and 0.29 tonnes in Chennai. A major part of the waste generated is non-hazardous but hazardous waste is also generated. Waste is any material not required by the organism that has been using it. The natural environment has developed very efficient waste disposal systems such as recycling of the products. The excreta of animals is reduced by bacteria and insects into its constituent chemicals which then gets absorbed into the environment. Normal waste disposal system is thus built into the environment. But the absorption capacity has its limits. Population growth, new lifestyles and ad-vancing technology generate colossal quantities of waste which create serious waste disposal problems.

Soviet Union

The period 1989–92 is memorable in human history as it saw the break up of the Soviet Union. The process began with the coming into power of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985. Gorbachev was committed to *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring). He initiated a process of change within the Soviet Union whose end results he did not anticipate or intend namely the disintegration of the Soviet Union itself. The existence of the cold war and of the Soviet Union provided access to two courts of appeal. With the end of the cold war, only one super power—the United States of America—has remained, and all countries of the

world look to it for initiatives and leadership. This has added to the strength of the North: bi-polarism had had its advantages.

The Soviet Union was dismantled in 1992 and replaced by 15 sovereign states, half of which possess the traits of a third world country.

Span of Control

Span of control is a sacrosanct principle of administration, or, it has been so till recently. Span of control is simply the number of subordinates or the units of work that an administrator can personally direct. In the words of Dimock, 'The span of control is the number and range of direct, habitual communication contacts between the chief executive of an enterprise and his principal fellow-officers.'[1] This concept is related to the principle of 'span of attention' so ably described by V.A. Graicunas.[2] There are limits to human capacity; and if the span of supervision is extended too thinly, unsatisfactory results occur. The scholars, therefore, have been engaged in determining what should be the length of the span. There are some who limit it to three persons; others put it at seven; and still others restrict it to twenty; and so on. There is no unanimity as to the exact number, but there does exist a general agreement that the shorter the span, the greater will be the contact, and consequently, more effective the control. 'On the other hand, there are dangers inherent in an excessively limited span of control, such as, the risk of detailed supervision of the few reporting; the resultant failure to stimulate subordinates or to fully use the capacities of them. It is possible also that short spans of control mean long chains of commands.'[3] The fact of the matter is that there can be no rigid span of control. The exact length of the span will depend on many variable factors like the personality of the supervisor, the diversification of the function of the organisation, the age of the organisation, the traditions and environments of the organisation, and the calibre of the subordinates. The element of space may also affect the situation. Thus, the fact of all offices being located in one building or place or scattered over many buildings or places certainly influences the length of the span. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the distinction made by Urwick between 'direct supervision' and 'access' to the boss. In other words, while an officer can directly supervise only a limited number of persons, he can introduce some flexibility in the organisation by permitting a large number of subordinates to have 'access' to him.

The whole idea of span of control has come under revision during recent years. The increasing use of automation in administration, the information revolution and the growing role of the specialists are some of the factors responsible for the change. Automation and mechanical processes are being used increasingly as a means for simplifying and expediting communications, and reducing the volume and the delay problems or paper work. Recent technical advances have made it possible to perform such activities as accounting, tabulating, purchasing, sorting and computation work with speed. The main function of these machines is to perform the ever-swelling volume of repetitive and routine tasks in the disposal of paper work. Inventory, record-keeping, billing and payroll bookkeeping have become more efficient as a result of automation. The ability of these machines to store information, to retrieve relevant facts to interpret them in terms of established criteria and to make decisions are the principal features of these developments. Automation renders superfluous most of the clerical and routine jobs and reduces paper work. The electronic machines supply relevant and accurate data to the administrator quickly with the result that he can control more work units, i.e. the work which required many more persons before the introduction of automation. The length of the span of control, therefore, has definitely increased, and it has become possible for the head of an organisation to control the work in the area of headquarters-field relationship by making communication and transport swift and easy, in terms of time and distance.

Another noteworthy phenomenon is the ever-growing number of specialists, professionals and technicians in public service. The specialists bring with them certain attitudes of mind. In the first place, they are experts in their fields and are conscious of it. Consequently, they do not tolerate interference in their own spheres of activity by the ignorant laymen. Secondly, they mostly act as advisers and as such are near the top. Thirdly, these specialists dislike the vertical hierarchy in the organisation. The established pattern of organisation itself is, therefore, undergoing a change, and the familiar concept of superior-subordinate hierarchical relationship is under challenge. Each specialist compels recognition as an individual in his own right. For example, in a university or research organisation there are a number of specialists, who are recognised authorities in their respective fields. In such an

organisation there is more of persuasion, consultation and discussion, and less of unilateral decisions. Decisions tend to be group decisions. The decision-making process gets decentralised and numerous decision-making centres crop up. The task of the chief executive in such an organisation, thus, becomes more of co-ordination than of supervision and control.

The principle of span of control means a number of subordinates reporting to a common superior, who is responsible for their activities. Three factors mainly determine the span of control of a head of an organisation. One is the demands made on that person's time, the second is nature of the work and third is professionalism of the organisation. The subordinates span of control has to take into account the following six factors:

1. How similar are the subordinates' jobs?
2. Are subordinates working together or are they geographically dispersed?
3. How complex are the subordinates' jobs.
4. The type of control required by subordinates (minimum supervision or close supervision).
5. The level of coordination required by subordinates.
6. Importance and complexity of planning that subordinates must engage in.

Span of control does not necessarily mean that an organisation is always symmetrical or that it observes the same span of control at all levels. Span of control varies from level to level and from place to place at each level.

The advent of computers has called for a revision of the concept of the span of control. The number of clerks can be reduced with the installation of computers even though the volume of work has gone up.

To recap, 'span of control' means the number of subordinates that an administrator can direct. This is the spread of supervision over an employee. Opinions vary according to the right span of control. Some limit it to three persons, others put it at seven; still others stretch it to even twenty. While there is no unanimity as to the exact number, there does exist a general agreement that the shorter the span, the greater will be the contact, and consequently more effective the control. But too narrow a span may entail serious disabilities. Excessive supervision retards the growth of subordinates. The fact of the matter is that there can be no definitely fixed span of control. The exact length of the span depends on many variables like the personality of the supervisor,

the diversification of the functions of the organisation, the age of the organisation, the traditions and environment of the organisation, and the calibre of the personnel. The element of space may also affect the span. The fact that employees are seated at the same place or are scattered over several buildings may necessitate differing lengths of span. Science and technology, too, affect the span of control. The information revolution resulting from the increasing use of electronic computers is already revising the traditional notions of the span of control.

[1]Dimock, M.E. and G.O. Dimock, *Public Administration*, Rinehart & Co., Inc., New York, 1959, p. 110.

[2]See Gulick, L. and Urwick, L. (eds.), *Paper on the Science of Administration*, Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, New York, 1937, pp. 184–85.

[3]Seckler-Hudson, C., *Organization and Management—Theory and Practice*, the American University Press, Washington, D.C., 1957, p. 99.

Special Districts

A widely prevalent feature of the U.S. local governmental scene in which a local governmental authority is set up to deal with a single governmental function. Examples of special districts in the U.S.A. are electric power authorities, hospital districts, fire-protection districts, water districts, transit districts, floor control districts, etc.

Spoils System of Recruitment

The spoils system refers to a practice of public hiring and firing: a public personnel system where administrative posts are gifted by politicians and the occupants usually change with each new government. It is a public personnel system rewarding members of the victorious political party in election with jobs in the government.

Spoils system of administration emerged essentially from the saying 'to the victor belong the spoils'. Its best spokesman was the United States president, Andrew Jackson, who once said:

> The duties of all public offices are, at least, admit of being made so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance. Offices were not established to give support to particular men at the public expense. No individual wrong is, therefore done by removal, since neither appointment to, nor continuance in office is a matter of right. He who is removed has the same means of obtaining a living that are enjoyed by the millions who here, held office.

He continued: 'I cannot a bit

believe that more is lost by the long continuance of men in office than is generally gained by their experience'. This egalitarian philosophy of personnel administration fitted well with the traditional American distrust of government. The system was replete with drawbacks. Every change of government was without fail attended by complete chaos and confusion with administration grinding to a halt. Secondly, the spoils practice kept the image of the government low and unappealing: the latter was associated with incompetence and politics. There were growing conflicts between executive and legislature over administrative appointments. Finally, job-seekers put exceptionally heavy demands on the president following an election.

Such a personnel system was personal, diffuse, ascriptive and particularist. In the U.S.A. a president's assassination in 1882 heralded a move towards change. Equally, it waited for the Northcote-Trevelyan report (1854) in Great Britain and the Macaulay report (1854) in India to guillotine it and inaugurate a system based on merit.

The spoils system, which began with the election of 1828, ended hereditary elitism in government and heralded, for the next 55 years, the reign of the spoils system in American public administration

Public administration as a distinct field emerged in the U.S.A. in the early years of the twentieth century. It emerged as a reaction to spoils and corruption in American city and county government. The reform movement began at the bottom level. It first began in New York City and later spread to other cities.

It dominated the United States public services from 1829 till 1883. Also known as the rule of rotation, the spoils system had a definite political philosophy underlying it: the consideration governing appointment is political faith and personal loyalty. It is defended on the ground that it provides an equal opportunity to all to participate in the task of governance. The spoils system was put an end to by the Pendleton Act of 1883, which installed merit as the basis of public recruitment and set up the U.S. Civil Service Commission as the watchdog of the merit system. In the beginning only 10 per cent of the federal jobs were brought under merit: today 90 per cent of them are filled by merit. Even today, the top layer of federal positions are filled by 'spoils' where the president brings his own chosen men. But these appointees are qualitatively different in their background. They are

distinguished persons who have made a mark in life but are prepared to serve the nation for limited periods. This is the second generation of the spoils system. Today, the spoils system is defended on the ground that the chief executive needs to be endowed with discretionary authority to induct persons of his choice to assist him in his policy-making tasks. The spoils system is practised in a limited zone in France though merit has been the recognised basis of public recruitment since the thirties of the nineteenth century.

To sum up, Andrew Jackson's spoils system or the rule of rotation had a definite philosophy underlying it. The primary consideration in making appointment to a federal government post was the appointee's political faith and personal loyalty, not his executive talent. The rotation principle seeks to provide an equal opportunity to all to enjoy the privilege of participating in the task of governance. Leonard D. White observes: 'The political neutral quality of the (civil) service generally sustained from 1789 to 1829 was impaired and in some quarters destroyed. The appetite of the office-seeking class was augmented and became more obnoxious. The efficiency in the public service was diminished and its prestige damaged'.[1]

White observes: 'Among the varied consequences of rotation for the public service ... are: the loss in efficiency, the lowering of prestige, and the imposition of political obligations and duties upon government employees. There were mitigating factors that softened the blow, notably the retention of many career employees, and the preference of both Democrats and Whigs for competent and trustworthy members of their own party'.[2]

[1]White, Leonard D.: *The Jacksonians: Study in Administrative History, 1829–1861*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1954, p. 346.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 327.

Staff Association

A part of industrial relations, a staff association, whose membership is voluntary, organises the social and welfare activities of the staff. It represents the staff before management which may consult it on service conditions affecting them.

Stakeholders

Refers to those who have a stake in the outcomes of an organisation.

The Random House Unabridged Dictionary defines stake-holder as 'the holder of the stakes of a wager; a person or group that has an investment, share or interest in something, as a business or industry'. R.E. Freeman defines a stake-

holder as 'any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of objectives' (*Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*, 1984). Stakeholders are those who have a stake or interest in the actions of an organisation. The term is often used along with shareholder, which means 'a holder or owner of shares especially in a company or corporation'. The stakeholders of a company may, for instance, include neighbourhood residents affected by the pollutants emitted from a factory. The cinema-goers are the stakeholders in the enforcement of a ban on smoking in cinema houses. In the irrigation system, the stakeholders are farmers, irrigation agency employees including engineers and government.

The term has acquired popularity to emphasise, among others, the concept of accountability, particularly in the context of the rise of non-governmental organisations. The non-governmental organisations in India owe accountability for instance, to European NGO donors, which have created formal, local mechanisms to monitor and report the financial aspects of the NGOs they support. In addition, NGOs have their stakeholders also. The constituency which is the target of NGO interventions is one such stakeholder. The newly emerged concept of stakeholders seeks to strengthen the understanding of accountability. After all, the donors and other resource-providers do have a stake in the outcome of the NGO.

State

State is a set of institutions that possess the means of legitimate coercion over a defined territory and its populations. The state operates through an organised government and monopolises law-making within its territory.

State of the Art

The latest and most advanced stage of a technology, art or science.

State Highways

The arterial roads in the state for inter-district movements. They traverse the length and breadth of a state connecting the state capital, district headquarters and important towns and cities and link up with the national highways and adjacent state highways. State highways are the state government's responsibility.

Status-Contract Nexus

A form of divergence between the formal rule and administrative behaviour. What status-contract nexus means is the operating rules of the society where contract provides the formal basis of authority

but status remains as the effective basis of control.

Statute

The term means a law enacted by legislative authority to distinguish it from the unwritten or 'common law'.

Statutory Civil Service

The governance of India passed from the East India Company to the British Crown in 1858. On assumption of power directly into her hands, Queen Victoria assured Indians of free and impartial admission to the country's public services based on their education, ability and integrity. Open competitive examination for recruitment was introduced but no Indian could enter the higher Indian Covenanted Civil Service until 1864. In that year the first ever Indian—Satyendranath Tagore—was selected. Non-admission of Indians into the public service was causing disillusionment to educated Indians about the British rule. This made the British government in London enact a law in 1870, which provided that duly selected Indians were to be eligible for any of the posts hitherto reserved for the Indian Covenanted Civil Service. It took nine years for the government to work out the necessary details to implement the law. It was in 1879 that the 'Statutory Civil Service' was established. The Statutory Civil Service was characterised by certain features. This service was based entirely on nomination by the provincial government, subject to the approval of the Government of India and the secretary of state for India. Secondly, the selected person was posted within his own province. Thirdly, one-sixth of the total number of the Indian Covenanted Civil Service posts were transferred to this service. There was an upper limit also: the total number of posts was not to exceed one-fifth of the annual intake into the Indian Covenanted Civil Service.

The Statutory Civil Service did not fulfil the expectations of the Indians. The higher social classes in India did not come forward, and many of the candidates nominated to the Statutory Civil Service were young men who, for the service, would have been perfectly content to enter the lower ranks of the administration. During 1879–1886, the total number of statutory civilians was 60. The Statutory Civil Service was a native civil service. The Aitchison Commission on the Public Service recommended its abolition. The Statutory Civil Service was wound up in 1892 and from its ashes emerged the Provincial Civil Service.

Stenographers

A stenographer provides stenographic and typing assistance to the officer. The minimum educational qualification for a stenographer is matriculation. He is recruited through the Staff Selection Commission. The job description for a stenographer is contained in the Office Memorandum No. 10/11/87-CS-11 issued by the department of personnel and training on 12 April 1988. His job is as follows:

1. He relieves the officer of much of his routine work and assists him in a manner as directed by him.
2. He takes dictation in short hand and transcribes it.
3. He carries out typing work considered necessary in administrative interest.
4. He screens telephone calls and the visitors.
5. He fixes up appointments, keeps an accurate list of engagements, meeting, etc. and reminds the officer sufficiently in advance for keeping them up.
6. He maintains the papers required to be retained by the officer.
7. He keeps a note of the movement of files, passed by his officer and other officers.
8. He destroys the stenographic record of the confidential and secret letters, after they have been typed and issued.

Strategic

General, important; distinguished from tactics.

Street-Level Bureaucrat

The term 'street-level bureaucrats' was invented by Michael Lipsky in his work *Street-level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services (1980).* Street-level bureaucracy refers to 'public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work. The typical examples of street-level bureaucracies are the schools, police, welfare departments, lower courts and legal services offices. David McKevitt coined the phrase 'street-level public organisations' in his work *Managing Core Public Service (1998)* by which he refers to agencies 'like hospitals, clinics, schools, welfare offices and police stations where government officials, professional specialists, and citizen-clients meet face-to-face and deal with each other'.

Sttat's Law

There is an exception to every rule, including of course this one!

Suggestion Scheme

A scheme which induces interest of the employees of an organisation to suggest ways of improving the organisation's operations. A suggestion which gains acceptance if followed by a reward. The suggestion scheme has been taken seriously in several countries such as Japan.

Subah

According to Akbar, a subah should consists of 22 sarcars, a sarcar 22 parganas, a pargana of 22 *tuppahs*, and a tuppah of 22 villages. This strict division was never carried into effect.

Subaltern School

The subaltern school examines history from below rather than from the perspectives of monarchs, states and victorious armies.

It is a variant of the Marxist approach to the study of the Indian state and politics. It is a distinct mode of analysis of the society. It interprets indigenous political happenings and movements according to the pre-fixed Marxist framework.

Sun-set Legislation

Sun-set legislation is a law which contains within itself an expiry date, thus, of programmes and agencies created by that law, after a set period of time. Sun-set legislation necessitates periodic evaluation (including re-evaluation) of laws that set up agencies and programmes to determine whether their continuance is justified. It ensures automatic dissolution of programmes and agencies after a fixed period of time unless re-authorised by an affirmative legislation. Recommended by the Fifth Central Pay Commission in India (1993–98), it is closely related to zero-base budgeting. Programmes and agencies mentioned in a law will be automatically terminated as the expiry date is explicitly mentioned in the law itself. Sun-set laws have been enacted by as many as 36 states in the U.S.A. Colorado was the first state to have adopted it in 1976.

Sun-set legislation began to be recommended since the 1975s in the U.S.A. although the idea of the sun-set was born under the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The then chairman of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, William Douglass, suggested that federal agencies should be abolished after ten years. Till 1981, more than 36 states in the U.S.A. have enacted sun-set laws. A sun-set legislation provides for the automatic termination of a public agency, board, commission or committee after a given period unless especially re-authorised by the legislative. The sun-set process provides for

periodic evaluation of an agency and thus strengthens systematic legislative oversight of the executive branch agencies. There are other methods of exercising oversight over the executive agencies. But a distinguishing feature of sun-set, as it is called, is that it can automatically terminate an agency in the absence of specific legislative re-authorisation. Sun-set has quickly emerged as an agency of administrative reform in the U.S.A.: it eliminates unnecessary agencies, stops the proliferation of rules and regulations and enforces accountability of the executive bodies.

The concept of sun-set, first developed by the Colorado chapter of Common Cause in the U.S.A., arose in protest against the failure of the traditional methods of administrative reform. Sun-set is an action-forcing mechanism to increase executive accountability through effective evaluation of agencies and programmes by both the executive and the legislature. A typical sun-set law fixes a timetable for review of a programme, law or agency. It contains the ultimate threat of terminating the agency. It forces programme evaluation. According to Bruce Adams and Betsy Sherman, both of Common Cause, the following ten basic principles are essential to a sun-set law.

1. The programme or agency covered under the law should automatically terminate on the given date unless affirmatively re-created by law.
2. The termination should be periodic in order to institutionalise the process of re-evaluation.
3. Like all innovations, the sun-set mechanism is a learning process. It should first be applied to those programmes to which it seems most appropriate.
4. It is profitable to subject to simultaneous sun-set review programmes and policies following in the same review. This strategy encourages consolidation and pruning.
5. Consideration by the relevant legislative committees must be preceded by in-depth preliminary studies.
6. The evaluation and review process must establish and observe certain general criteria. This would prevent arbitrary action.
7. Sun-set review must provide for rehabilitation of displaced persons and outstanding obligations.
8. The sun-set process must include public access to information and public hearings. Public participation in the form of public hearings

is an essential part of the sun-set process.[1]

[1]Adams, Bruce and Betsy Sherman: 'Sun-set Implementation: A positive partnership to make government work', in *Public Administration Review*, vol. 38, no. 1, January-February 1978, pp. 79.

Superannuation

The age at which a government servant qualifies for retirement benefits regardless of length of service or mode of termination. The superannuation age in India was 58 which has been raised to 60 after the Fifth Central Pay Commission (1993–97) Report.

Super's Law

'Any bureaucracy reorganised to enhance efficiency is immediately indistinguishable from its predecessor'.

Supplementary Budget

In India as in most countries, a budget is an annual affair. The executive comes to parliament at the beginning of the fiscal year and presents the full package of demands for the latter's approval. Annuality of the budget is a sacrosanct principle of budgeting. Underlying the budget is a moral contract, so to say, between the executive and the people's representatives namely parliament. Parliament should be told about the executive's money transactions in one and only one go. Supplementary demands weaken parliamentary control over public expenditure.

Suttee

The practice of a woman burning herself alive on her husband's funeral pyre. Suttee was a voluntary action performed with the full consent of the widow but more often than not, committed under pressure from the family who hoped to gain prestige or property left to the wife. The practice is of ancient origin but was suppressed by Lord Bentick in 1828. Prohibited under law, suttee has become an exception today though isolated instances of it still occur.

Synergy

The dictionary meaning of synergy is 'combined action or functioning'. It goes on to illustrate: 'The cooperative action of two or more muscles, nerves or the like'. In public administration, synergy means cooperative working of the parts and subsystems of an organisation. An organisation is made up of subsystems or parts such as structure, culture, reward systems, staffing, and leadership. Synergy occurs when all parts work cooperatively to create a high level of performance. Synergy is discussed in group dynamics.

T

T-Group

Training Group or T-Group is a learning process first developed by Kurt Lewin at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (U.S.A.) in the late 1940s and 1950s. It is a team-building exercise to maximise interaction among members of the group with personal feedback to all. The proponents of T-Group training justify it in terms of increased trust, cohesiveness and openness. It is a form of sensitivity training. Its exact contents differ from trainer to trainer but has to be handled very carefully as it entails emotionally unsettling consequences for the participants.

T-group refers to the laboratory experiments which made its advent in the 1950s. Later, the T-group became synonymous with participatory management. It was an alternative to authoritarianism and bureaucracy. It is laboratory training based on experiential learning. T-group is a small unstructured group in which 10 or so participants learn from their interactions and emerging dynamics about issues pertaining to interpersonal relations, group dynamics and leadership. In T-group training the participants discover something about themselves—their strength, deficiencies, styles and interpersonal relationships. The T-group does not have a predetermined agenda; it evolves its own agenda over time. Thus viewed, the group evolves like a laboratory experiment. In India, the T-group was introduced in the mid-fifties. In 1972, the Indian Society for Applied Behavioural Science was established.

Taccavi

Advances made to the cultivators. Advances or loans of money made to the cultivators at the time of sowing or in a bad season or to enable them to extend their cultivation to be repaid when the crop is harvested.

Tactical

Pertaining to particular arrangement.

Tactical Voting

A strategy of voting preferred by minority groups in the society. They decide to vote for a particular candidate who is most likely to defeat their political foe.

Tahsil

Administrative and revenue sub-unit of a district under the administrative charge of a tahsildar.

Tahsildar

The chief revenue officer of a sub-division of the district, called tahsil, pargana or taluk. The term originated during the Mughal administration. He is a 'native' collector of a sub-division subordinate to a district collector.

Talatee

A village accountant in Gujarat.

Tall Organisation

It refers to a formal organisation structure which is characteristed by a narrow span of control over a large number of levels in the hierarchy. This is in contrast to the flat organisation.

Taluk

An administrative unit below the district.

Talukdar

The chief revenue officer of a taluk; a division of a district in Oudh.

Tankhwa

Cash payment of officers under the Mughal rule. Government servants, under the Mughal rule, were as a rule paid tankhwa as distinguished from jagir, which was the payment by the assignment of the land revenue of a marketplace.

Tax Amnesty

An opportunity offered by the government to tax evaders to declare their past concealed income, wealth, etc., without fear of getting prosecuted. Tax amnesties have been announced in India several times. It is defended on the ground that it brings concealed or black money in the open and broadens the base of investment thus contributing to economic development. It is, however, criticised in that it legalises an illegal act, which is of questionable ethicality. It also encourages tax evaders as it keeps alive the hope that some day, a tax amnesty would be declared and all their black money could be converted to 'white'! Amnesty has a demoralising effect on the honest taxpayers.

Taxation

Tax is defined as 'a compulsory contribution levied upon persons, property or business for the support of government'. It costs money to run a government and the money necessarily comes, at least in substantial part, from the people through taxation. A modern state not only looks after law and order but also undertakes welfare and developmental

responsibility, which raises the cost all the more. Taxation is a very powerful method of transferring funds from private hands to public ones. The state extracts funds from the public only to return it manifold to the society. As Kalidas, the great poet, has rightly said, 'Just as the sun extracts water from the reservoirs and gives it back in the form of showers, so does the ruler extract tax from his subjects and gives it back to them in the form of prosperity'.

Taxation is not a mere transfer of money from private hands to public: it entails far-reaching implications and consequences for the entire social, political and economic profiles of the society. It is a source of resource mobilisation. By taxing the rich more heavily it may help reduce economic inequality in the society. The money collected must be spent, and by spending more on welfare and educational programmes it enunciates a certain coherent philosophy to the society. By resource allocation distributive justice may be administered. Taxation thus serves several purposes.

Taylorism

The basic message of Taylorism is enshrined in scientific management the aim of which was to take away from workers the control over their work. When Frederick W. Taylor arrived on the scene at the end of the nineteenth century a manufacturing workshop was organised and run by craftsmen in their respective trades. Taylor sought to wrest this control from their hands and give it to a separate group of workers whose task was to manage, that is, to teach the workers what to do and how to do it. In other words, in scientific management, management becomes a distinct activity whose function is to determine a set of work standards, evolve ways of reaching those standards and select the right workers to perform them. Time and motion studies were employed to evolve these standards Taylor invented his ideal worker—Schmidt—who by fully complying with his instructions could carry 47½ tons of pig iron each day!

Taylorism repudiated the concept of the prevalent form of organisation and in fact, laid the foundation of the modern factory system. Taylor pleaded for a scientific task management. A job is broken into its component parts and then assessed how best to perform it. For the performance of this task Taylor used time and motion studies.

Taylorism is not to be confused with Fordism. Fordism is named after Henry Ford and his techniques applied at his Detroit

automobile plant during 1913–14. Taylor took the technology for granted and concentrated on the employee and his productivity. On the other hand, Fordism seeks to mechanise the labour process and thus to eliminate human labour. Fordism works for—and symbolises—the domination of machinery over labour. Fordism may thus be viewed as post-Taylorism in operation!

Team Building

Widely employed in the field of organisation development (OD), team building is a process of intervention to improve productivity and morale. The OD movement began with team building. Put simply, the message is that the group of people working in an organisation must work together in an effective and smooth way in order to improve their work performance.

Tenure System

The dictionary defines tenure as 'the period or term of holding something'. This is the basic principle of staffing in India. India observes the rank system of position classification and as such government servants as a rule hold posts for a fixed term or tenure on completion of which they revert to other posts or their mother cadres. The father of the tenure system of staffing in the secretariat is Lord Curzon, India's viceroy (1899–1904; 1904–1905), who never forgot 'the men in the districts'. Lovat Fraser, his biographer rightly wrote: 'It is largely ... Lord Curzon's influence that the type of officers, once very prevalent, who had practically no experience of district work is fast disappearing from the Indian Civil Service'. Staffing of the secretariat by officers from the states (and the field) has been recommended by a succession of committees and commissions on administrative reform. In reply to the recommendation of the Llewellyn-Smith Secretariat Procedure Committee (1919), favouring extension of the tenure of secretaries and deputy secretaries from the existing three to four years, the government cited the importance of the district experience and finally added: 'each year spent by an officer in the secretariat materially weakens that contact' (with the district).

Terai

A belt of marshy land along the foot of the Himalayas but north of the Ganga.

Thana

A police station.

Thanedar

The keeper of a thana.

Theory X

It was developed by Douglas McGregor in his *The Human Side of Enterprises*. He held the view that most managers hold incorrect assumptions about their employees. These assumptions are collectively called Theory X. Theory X assumes that workers are lazy and shirk responsibility. Their personal goals run counter to organisational goals, which necessitates close control over them. Theory Y is just the opposite. It assumes that workers like to work and assume responsibility. The workers would be more responsive to democratic management and would take up creative work.

To repeat, Theory X makes a set of assumptions about human behaviour. These, broadly, are:

1. People dislike work and will avoid it if they can.
2. People must be forced to make the right effort.
3. People would like to be directed than accept responsibility. They shun responsibility.
4. People are mainly motivated by money.
5. People are motivated by anxiety about their security.
6. Most people lack creativity and vision—except when getting round administrative rules and regulations!

Our view of human behaviour determines our treatment towards him. Theory X view of man leads to close supervision, firm discipline, incentive schemes, etc. Our beliefs about man become a self-fulfilling prophesy.

Theory Y

Theory Y is the polar opposite of Theory X. Developed by Douglas McGregor, it makes a set of assumptions about human behaviour taking an optimistic view of man:

1. Man does not shirk work. Work is necessary for man's psychological growth.
2. Man is interested in work and under the right conditions he enjoys work.
3. Man directs himself towards an accepted target.
4. Man seeks, and accepts responsibility under the right conditions.
5. The discipline which man imposes on himself is more effective than any that is imposed on him.
6. Man is motivated by the desire to realise his own potential which is under-used.

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personal goals run counter to organisational goals, which necessitates close control over them. Theory Y is just the opposite. It assumes that workers like to work and assume responsibility. The workers would be more responsive to democratic management and would take up creative work.

Theory Z

Developed by William Ouchi, an American writer of Japanese origin. Theory Z is a western adaption of Japanese management practices. Its distinguishing features are the following:

1. Life-time employment.
2. Relative slow promotion.
3. Management's concern for the whole person.
4. Informal control and leadership.
5. Individual responsibility.
6. Consensual decision-making.
7. Less emphasis on specialisation. Theory Z organisations appear to show higher productivity and better quality and are marked by low absenteeism.

Therblings

A term used in work study. The term was coined by Gilbreth and is an anagram of its inventor's name. A therbling refers to one of the eighteen fundamental operations in a worker's activities. It describes the bodily movements involved like search, select, grasp, hold, etc.

Therblings

Symbol	Name	Colour coding
	search	black
	find	grey
	select	light grey
	grasp	red
	hold	gold ochre
	transport load	green
	position	blue
	assemble	violet
	use	purple
	disassemble	light violet
	Inspect	burnt ochre
	pre-position	pale blue
	release loud	carmine red
	transport empty	olive green
	rest for overcoming fatigue	orange
	unavoidable delay	yellow
	avoidable delay	lemon yellow
	plan	brown

Think Tank

Also called think factory, think tank is a research organisation engaged to solve complex problems or predict or plan future developments in military, political or social areas. Think tanks comprise applied-policy intellectuals and organisations engaged in the application of social knowledge and are to be found in all industrialised democracies. The United

States is the home of think tanks, New York and Washington D.C. being the two foremost centres of non-university based intellectual concentrations.

The more well-known think tanks in the U.S.A. are the Brookings Institution, the Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, Resources for the Future, the Urban Institute, etc. India does not have many think tanks but one may be identified here, namely the Centre for Policy Research, located at Delhi.

Think tanks are autonomous in the U.S.A. but networks between institutions and individual policy makers do develop. Many of them also subtly articulate a political orientation.

Think tanks are diverse organisations covering a wide area and varying in size and funds—usually technical or scientific research and analysis and formulating definite policy options. They operated within the government under communism, which has vanished since proving their manoeuvrability. They are generally independent, autonomous, non-profit organisations undertaking analysis of pressure groups. Generally, they are locked in source-dependent relationships with outside organisations. Funding may come from the government or other sources and they try to maintain their research freedom.

The United States is the traditional home of think tanks, claiming to have over 1,200 of them. The large number may be explained by the openness, pluralism and permeability of the American social and political system. They are fewer in Europe. British think tanks are smaller and more modestly funded than their U.S. counterparts. Think tanks are primarily a U.S. invention, but the Fabian Society in Britain founded in the year 1884 has a much longer history. Think tanks bloom, it is argued, 'according to the political compost in which they grow' (Hennessy and Coats: 'Little Grey Cells: Think-tanks, Governments and Policy-making', Strathclyde Analysis Papers, No. 67, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, 1991).

Stone, Diane, Andreiv Denham and Mark Garnett (ed.): *Think tanks across nations*, Manchester University Press, 1998.

Third World

Before 1991, the countries of the world were divided into three categories or groups. The western industrialised liberal democracies constituted the first world. The communist bloc formed the second world while the non-aligned countries of the world constituted the third world. The end of the cold war and the dismantling of

the Soviet Union has altered the composition of these categories. Some countries of the Soviet Union have joined the first world while other have become part of the third world. One must note, all members of the non-aligned movement are members of the third world but the vice versa is not necessarily true: not all members of the third world are non-aligned. Certain distinguishing features mark the third world: poverty, lack of development, colonial rule in the not too distant past, prevalence of squalor, disease, illiteracy, unemployment, etc.

Thugs

A notorious class of public robbers who existed until the early days of the British rule in India.

Thuggi

The term is from 'thug', which means a cheat. It refers to the practice of gang robbery and murder by strangling. Thuggi is apparently sanctioned by an association with the Hindu goddess Kali. The practice originated during the Muslim period of rule in India and was rampant until the early days of the British rule. Lord Bentinck, the chief crusader against this crime, established a Department of Thuggie and Dakaiti in 1835, thus, initiating bold steps to exterminate it.

Token Grant

When funds to meet the proposed expenditure on a new service can be made available by re-appropriation, a demand for a token amount (say, Rs 10) is put to vote, and funds may be made available.

Topekhana

The artillery. The ordnance department.

Toshkhana

Provincial treasury. If a public servant receives a gift, no matter how trifling, he is under an official obligation to deposit it in the toshkhana. The official could redeem it if he could pay the price determined by the government. Toshkhana is thus, government treasury and is the repository of articles received as presents or intended to be given as presents, attached to a government office.

Total Quality Management (TQM)

Primacy of free market with global integration makes it absolutely essential to be competitive in domestic as well as international trade. Private sector has traditionally operated within a competitive environment which has obliged it to produce quality goods and services. The public sector, however, has been functioning within a protected

environment. This complacency must be shed. The public sector must improve the quality of its goods and services and be customer conscious in its relationship. The concept of total quality management (TQM) sums up this orientation. TQM seeks total re-orientation of a public agency to meet customers' needs. This implies that the total quality management is much older in origin than is ordinarily believed although it has become a popular concept in public administration particularly since the eighties when concern began to be consciously evinced towards citizen-friendly administration. TQM first developed in the industrial sector and it is only later that it began to extend to the governmental environment. It focusses on customer service and thus seeks to improve the service system.

The expression is a compound of three words. 'Quality' implies meeting the customer expectations and showing an improvement in this direction. 'Total', means the search for quality extends to all aspects of work. The third, 'management', means development of managerial capability in a bid to constantly improve it. Total quality management is the sum total of principles, tools and procedures geared to improve how work in the organisation is done, the motivating desire being to meet customer expectations of quality. The customer is identified as the end-user of the product of service. This implies that the employees of that organisation are committed to customer satisfaction. As perhaps a first essential move, the counter services as part of the delivery system to the public must improve, this being the first point of contact between the government and the individual. Quality circles (QC) should be encouraged.

The concept of TQM was first developed by W. Edwards Deming, an American statistician. Total quality management is essentially a product of statistical quality control and industrial engineering and its applications have been for assembly-line work and other routine processes. TQM was enthusiastically adopted in Japan after the Second World War although the concept was first developed in manufacturing organisations in the U.S.A. Japan was perhaps the first country to have given systematic attention to total quality management. Having an export culture, Japan had to be competitive, which compelled it to produce quality goods. The Japanese companies began to search for quality control systems. Total quality management has made headway in Malaysia where even telephone

communication has been taken recourse to, the idea being to render better service to the customers. In a word, TQM is a customer-focussed management.

The U.S. president, George Bush, commended TQM in these words: 'Reasserting our (United States) leadership will require a firm commitment to total quality management and the principle of continuous improvement. Quality improvement principles apply to the public sector as well as private enterprise'. It seeks an organisational transformation with its eye fixed on product and productivity improvement. Among the pioneers who have illuminated this are W. Edwards Deming, Joseph Juran and Philip Crosby. The concept visualises a fourteen comprehensive strategy to totally attack what it calls management's deadly diseases: These are:

1. create a constancy of purpose;
2. adopt the new philosophy;
3. lowest-bid contracting;
5. improve every process;
6. instal suitable training;
7. institute leadership;
8. drive out fear;
9. eliminate barriers between departments;
10. eliminate slogans, exhortations and targets for the workforce;
11. abolish arbitrary production quotas;
12. remove barriers that rob employees of pride in work;
13. institute an education and self-improvement programme;
14. make quality improvement every one's job.

Total quality management is a comprehensive strategy, the principal points of emphases being; management commitment, quality improvement teams, zero-defects planning, supervisory training, observance of zero-defects day, goal setting, etc. Also, quality awards must be instituted for high performers.

Total quality management is a quality system intimately associated with the name of Edwards Deming, as said earlier. But it is only one of the systems operating in the field. For total quality management certain guidelines must be faithfully observed. These, briefly, are:

1. The first and foremost, the customer in any quality system is the right determiner of quality.
2. Quality should be built into the product early in the production process rather than being added on at the end.
3. Preventing variability is the key to producing high quality.
4. Quality results from people working within systems.
5. Quality requires continuous

improvement of inputs and processes.

6. Quality requires total governmental commitment.

Public administrative agencies are necessarily plagued by a paucity of resources and it is common knowledge that quality gets constrained by cost: One can buy a better car provided one is prepared to pay a higher price. There is another problem—TQM has generally focussed itself on manufacturing. In public administration, on the other hand, services predominate. But services are more labour-intensive and can lack uniformity of output. This means that 'the consumer will evaluate the service not only on the result but also on the behaviour and even the appearance of the person delivering it'.

Swiss, James E.: 'Adapting Total Quality Management (TQM) in Government', in *Public Administration Review*, vol. 52, no. 4, July-August 1992, p. 358.

Training for Civil Service

Training of civil servants is one of the important processes of personnel administration and an essential ingredient of a career civil service. It is generally set apart from education in being a more or less consciously planned, systematic development and improvement of an employee's ability to perform his tasks competently although the line of demarcation between the two is hazy and even blurred. All modern administrative systems recognise training as an integral part of human resource development, and India is no exception. Indeed, training has of late been showing signs of acquiring a central place in the personnel development programmes in Indian public administration.

Training under British rule

College of Fort William

One may safely begin by asserting that in India training is not a concept that has been only recently discovered. As early as 1800, Lord Wellesley, the governor-general of India (1798–1805), formulated a course of training for the newly recruited civil servants in India. As he perceived, the role of the East India Company had changed from trading to administering, demanding new or enlarged qualifications but this shift was not reflected in the mental and intellectual preparations of its civil servants. Administration of a vast, varied and complex country like India, demanded civil servants possessing abilities of many kinds and shades, which he himself delineated in his own inimitable style:

> Their (civil servants') studies, the discipline of their educa-

tion, their habits of life, their manners and morals should, therefore, be so ordered and regulated as to establish a just conformity between their personal consideration, and the dignity and importance of their public stations, and to maintain a sufficient correspondence between their qualifications and their duties. Their education should be founded in a general knowledge of those branches of literature and science which form the basis of the education, of persons destined to similar occupations in Europe. To this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, languages, customs and manners of the people of India, with the Mahommedan and Hindoo codes of law and religion, and with the political and commercial interests and relations of Great Britain in Asia. They should be regularly instructed in the principles and system which constitute the foundation of that wise code of regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of securing to the people of this empire the benefit of the ancient and accustomed laws of the country, administered in the spirit of the British constitution. They should be well informed of the true and sound principles of the British constitution, and sufficiently grounded in the general principles of the British constitution, and sufficiently grounded in the general principles of ethics, civil jurisprudence, the law of nations, and general history, in order that they may be enabled to discriminate the characteristic differences of the several codes of law administered within the British Empire in India, and practically to combine the spirit of each in the dispensation of justice, and in the maintenance of order and good government. Finally, their early habits should be so formed, as to establish in their minds such solid foundation of industry, prudence, integrity, and religion, as should effectually guard them against those temptations and corruptions with which the nature of this climate, and the peculiar depravity of the people of India, will surround and assail them in every station, specially upon their first arrival in India. The early discipline of the service should be calculated to counteract the defects of the climate and the vices of the people, and to form a natural barrier against habitual indolence, dissipation, and licentious indulgence; the spirit of emulation,

> in honourable and useful pursuits, should be kindled and kept alive by the continual prospect of distinction, and reward, of profit, and honour; nor should any precaution be relaxed in India, which is deemed necessary in England, to furnish a sufficient supply of men qualified to fill the high offices of the State with credit to themselves and with advantage to the public. Without such a constant succession of men in the several branches and departments of this Government, the wisdom and benevolence of the law must prove vain and inefficient.[1]

What a contrast between the profile sketched above and that of those recruited to govern! The civilians Lord Wellesley was getting did not come anywhere near his expectations. The age at which they usually arrived in India during his time was between 16–18 years. Most of them had acquired only a bit of commercial knowledge, which hardly amounted to being a serious preparation for the life they were to lead in India. Some others were pursuing undergraduate studies at universities which they abandoned under pressure of the early departure for service in India. In a bid to remove these deficiencies fostered both by contemporary culture and early age, Lord Wellesley thought of setting up a college for the newly arrived civilians to undergo a well-planned programme of training. This college was set up in 1800 at Fort William in Calcutta—'an Oxford College on the banks of the Hoogly', The governor-general was the patron and visitor of the college. The plan for the college visualised a large faculty—including a very large number of clergymen of the Church of England—and a comprehensive syllabus. The stress was thus on both moral and academic brilliance. The subjects of study were:

1. Modern Languages of Europe: Greek, Latin and English classics;
2. General History, History and Antiquities of Hindoostan;
3. Natural History: Botany, Chemistry and Astronomy;
4. Political Economy, Geography, and Mathematics;
5. Mohamedan Law, Hindu Law, Ethics, Civil Jurisprudence, Law of Nations;
6. English Law and laws enacated by the Governor-General in Council; and
7. Indian Languages.

Lord Wellesley requested that 'all persons, destined for the civil service at any of the Presidencies in India, to be students of the College at Fort William'.[2] Students were given a monthly

salary of Rs 300 together with apartments and a common dining table. The course of study extended for three years and, what is more, allocation to various presidencies was to be made by the college at the end of the period of study. The college had barely started when bad luck overtook it: it had to be closed down in 1806 under orders of the home government because Lord Wellesley had opened it without prior consultation with the directors of the East India Company in London. Lord Wellesley's insistence on allocation of new civilians to various presidencies by the college and not from London was not liked by the directors. Even the very move to set up a college in India with powers of appointments remaining with the Government of India signified a reduction in the company's patronage. In place of the college, however, a seminary was set up in each presidency town to teach Law and Oriental Languages to the civil servants on their first arrival in the country. This arrangement continued for quite some time. These three schools were abolished when a two-year probation in England was introduced with the beginning of a competitive system of recruitment. Lord Wellesley's conception of the college was a grand one. S.J. Owen rightly observed: 'He (Lord Wellesley) relied on the College of Fort William to train a race of civilians, who should be equal to the task.'[3]

Haileybury College

Directors of the East India Company decided to set up a training school in England when they turned down Lord Wellesley's proposal. Accordingly, the East India College, popularly known as Haileybury College, was set up at Hertfordshire (later shifted to its own building at Haileybury from which it takes its popular name) in February 1806. It existed till 1857.

The Haileybury College was planned along academic lines and had on its faculty highly qualified persons who were the envy of even the best universities. This is most remarkable, for the Haileybury College was getting young boys based on the patronage system for education and training. Most of the faculty was drawn from the field of religion, for religious education was accorded a high priority for the future administrators of India. Given below is a list of the names and terms of office of those who held office at the Haileybury College.

Visitors—The Right Rev. the Bishops of London (1814–57). **Principals**—Rev. Samuel Henley, D.D., F.S.A. (1806–15); Rev. Joseph H. Batten, D.D., F.R.S.

(1817) (1815–37); Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas, M.A. (1838–44), and Rev. Henry Melvill, B.D. (1844 to 1857). **Deans**—Rev. William Dealtry, M.A. (1813), B.D., F.R.S. (1812–13); Rev. Charles W. Le Bas, M.A. (1814–38); Rev. James Amiraux Jeremie, M.A. (1835–50); Rev. W.E. Buckley, M.A. (1850–57).

European Department: Professors of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy—Rev. Bewick Bridge, M.A. B.D., F.R.S. (1806–16); Rev. William Dealtry, M.A., B.D., F.R.S. (1806–13); Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas, M.A. (1813 to 1837); Rev. Herry Walter, M.A., B.D., F.R.S. (1816–30); Rev. Fred. Smith, M.A. (Ast. till 1838) (1831–50); Rev. J.W.L. Heaviside, M.A. (1838–57).

Professors of Classical and General Literature—Rev. Edward Lewton, M.A. (1806–30); Rev. Joseph Hallett Batten, M.A., F.R.S., D.D., (1815) 1806–15; Rev. James Amiraux Jeremie, M.A. (1830–1850); Rev. W.E. Buckley, M.A. (1850–57).

Professors of History and political Economy—Rev. T.R. Malthus, M.A., F.R.S., (1919) (1806–35); Rev. Richard Jones, M.A. (1835–55); Right Hon. Sir James Stephen, K.C.B., L.L.D. (1851–1857).

Professors of General Polity and the Laws of England—Edward Christian, M.A. (1806–18); Sir James Mackintosh, M.D., L.L.D., F.R.S. (1818–24); William Empson, M.A. (1853–57); J.F. Leith.

Oriental Department: Visitors—Sir Charles Wilkins, F.R.S., L.L.D. (1807–6); H.H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., (1837–57).

Professors of Hindu Literature and History of Asia—Alexander Hamilton, F.R.S. (1807–18); Graves Chamney Haughton, M.A., F.R.S., (1818–27); Major James Michael (1827–37).

Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani—Charles Stewart (1807–26) Rev. Henry George Keene, M.A. (1818–34). Arabic and Persian—Mirza Mohammad Ibrahim (1826–44); Colonel J.W.J. Ouseley (1844–57), **Sanskrit, Bengali and Telugu**—Francies Johnson (1825–55); Monier Williams, M.A. (1844–57). **Hindi, Hindustani and Marathi**—Edward Vernon Schalch, (Asst. till 1837) (1827–45), Edward B. Eastwick, F.R.S. (1845–57). **Assistant in Oriental Department**—Maulavi Abdal Aly. (1809–12); Maulavi Mirza Kheldel (1809–19); Rev. Robert Anderson (1820–25); David Shea (1826–36). **Oriental Writing Masters**—Moonshy Ghoolam Hyder (1809–23); Thomas Medland (1824–33).

French Master—De Foligny (1806–18).

Dancing Master—Bridgeman (1806–10).

Registrars—Rev. William Dealtry, M.A. (1813), B.D., F.R.S. (1812–13); Rev. Bewick Bridge, B.D., F.R.S. (1814–16); Rev. Edward Lewcon, M.A. (1816–30); Rev. Henry George Keene (1831–34); James Michael (1834–37); Rev. Fred Smith, M.A. (1838–57).

Librarians—Rev. Edward Lewton, M.A. (1810–30); Edward B. Eastwick, F.R.S., F.S.A. (1851–57).

Deputy Registrar and Librarian—Robert Bellow (1809–11).

(**Source**: F.C. Danvers, Sir M. Monier-Williams and other: Memorials of Old Halleybury College. Westminster, Archibald Constable, 1894.)

Providing a distinct religious orientation in the faculty was a deliberate decision to keep young probationers protected from what was viewed as pernicious influence of the French Revolution (1789). Utmost attention was given to foster an esprit de corps among the pupils. The age of admission varied, but a decision was later taken not to admit young lads. The nominees were required to complete their education at the East India College till the age of at least 18. After passing out from the college, they had to spend a year or two in preparatory studies in their respective presidencies in India to study local laws and regulations before they were entrusted with public duties. Earlier, the period of stay at the college was three years but later it became four terms of six months each. Stay at the college for full four terms was compulsory, and a candidate had to possess a certificate of successfully completing the programme. The education given included classics, arithmetic and mathematics, elements of general law, oriental learning, English, history, geography. Qualifying the final examination was compulsory.

With merit becoming the basis of recruitment to the civil service in 1854, it was assumed that from then onwards university graduates would be joining the civil service. The Haileybury College was basically designed for persons possessing lower qualifications. As such, it was not considered fit for the kind of candidates expected to join under the new arrangement. Therefore, it was wound up on 7 December 1857 after the last batch passed out in 1856. An old Haileyburian writes: 'All the members of that celebrated (East-India) College were in those days bound together like one family. We all knew each other personally. The College was ably presided over by the then Master, Dr Jenkyns, who had a fatherly regard for all of us and lived for the Society over which he ruled, and the reputation of which he

contributed in no slight degree to establish'.[4]

In 1853, the patronage-based system of recruitment was replaced by the system of merit proven through an open competitive examination. For this purpose, Sir Charles Wood, then president of the Board of Commissioners for Affairs of India, sought the advice of a committee headed by Thomas Babington Macaulay which recommended adoption of the new system and discontinuance of the Haileybury College. The committee observed that the college needed 'a complete change in the discipline', 'an extensive change in the buildings', and 'a great change in the system of study',[5] which, all taken together, virtually amounted to calling for its abolition.

Training arrangement under merit-based recruitment

Training of merit-based recruits marks a change from the Haileyburian lines. The new recruits to the Indian Civil Service, nicknamed 'competition wallas', were instead receiving training for a period of two years in the mainstream of the British educational system—generally in the universities of Oxford or Cambridge or the School of Oriental Studies—where they received liberal education and, in addition, learnt about India, its history, geography, culture, religion and economy. They were taught Indian history, Indian Criminal Law and procedures and the language of the province to which they had been allotted. For the British recruits, who generally constituted half of the annual intake in the latter years of the Raj, the syllabus provided some background knowledge of the unknown, strange land in which they were to serve. For the Indian recruits, making up the other half, the period of probation in England exposed them to western culture and civilisation which was viewed as a sound preparation for work in India.

The working of the system of selection and training of candidates for the Indian Civil Service was subjected to review in 1874 by the Committee on the Selection and Training of Candidates for the Indian Civil Service, headed by Liddell, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. This committee, appointed by the British government, submitted its report in 1876. It considered the upper age of entry of 23 into the Indian Civil Service to be too high and recommended its lowering to nineteen years of age.[6]

> A lower limit of age is recommended by another consideration of importance. Out of the number, who present themselves for competition, it is

> certain that four-fifths must fail, because the candidates are usually more than five times as many as the vacancies; and no prudent parent, in selecting a profession for his son, will leave this certainty out of consideration. Some professions are absolutely closed, others are almost impossible, to a man who thinks for the first time of entering them at the age of 22. A man, therefore, who competes for the Indian Civil Service at that age, undoubtedly strives for a valuable prize, but does it at a formidable risk. He stakes, in a measure, his chance of self-support upon the result of a competition in which it is certain that four-fifths must fail. It is more than probable that such a risk must weigh strongly with parents, and diminish the field of competition, especially among the professional class. But no such apprehension will be possible if the limit of age is fixed at 19.

(Secretary of State to the Government of India, 24 February 1876).

The age of 19 was recommended to enable successful candidates to go to a university for higher education and obtain a degree.

> If the object be to obtain civil servants who have received the ordinary education of English gentlemen, it is not reasonable to omit the part of that education which is most peculiarly English, and which exerts the most powerful influence in the formation of character. But the absence of it in this case has evils of a special kind. The peculiarity of a civilian's career, during all its earlier years, is its isolation. As far as European society is concerned, there is scarcely any seclusion more complete than that of an up-country station, to which a young civilian is usually appointed; and it is a seclusion which often lasts till he has reached middle age. It is to him, therefore, more important than to the members of other professions that his education should not be solitary, but that, in the company of others of his own class, he should receive the invaluable training which consists in the knowledge of the thought and characters of other men. If he does not obtain it at that time, he has not the chance which is open to others of repairing the omission later.

The British government, accordingly, fixed the maximum age of admission of candidates to the competitive examination at 19 but also retained the minimum age of 17. Thus, the upshot of the

Liddell report was an age group of 17–19 alone being admissible to the competitive examination during the period 1878–91. In 1892, the lower age was fixed at 21 and the higher one at 23. This committee also recommended a probationary period of one year, which was accepted by the government. But a probationer to the Indian Civil Service could, with the permission of the secretary of state for India, remain in England to study for a university degree after completion of his one-year probation. This practice disturbed the annual intake into the service and inconvenienced the provinces. The Aitchison commission or the Public Service Commission (1886–87) which was its full nomenclature, objected to this practice and observed that it 'does not consider it a defensible arrangement to spend the revenues of India in helping candidates who, having passed their period of probationary training successfully, are pronounced qualified for service in India, to complete their general education.'

At the end of the one-year probation in England, there was a qualifying written examination. Candidates selected on the basis of the examination held in India were subject to a two-year probation. The young officer's first postings were in the district and in it he learnt his work primarily by watching a senior colleague in charge of a sub-division. He was appointed as a third class magistrate and thus tried minor cases independently. He was learning the theory of the work he was doing or observing by preparing for an examination in legal enactments, circular orders and government accounts. He had also to pass an examination in the language of his province of allotment. During the cold months, he was expected to tour extensively with his superior over the countryside and thus acquire intimate and first-hand knowledge of the people and the place. After some time, he acquired independent charge of the revenue work of a tehsil. His magisterial power were also enhanced. At the end of six months, he was required to pass an examination of a higher level in laws and regulations relating to revenue and judicial administration. It was only after passing it could his supernumerary period be ended. He was now fit to take independent charge of a sub-division—a post he was expected to hold by virtue of his membership of the higher civil service.

This was the formal part of his training. But the informal training, which he received, had a more powerful and necessarily long-lasting impact on his mind and heart. The newly joined civilian was encouraged to often walk

into the house of his mentor—the district collector—and develop personal contacts. The young official often used to stay with him for a few days at the beginning of his career, accompany him during the touring season, and participate in revenue settlement cases under the immediate guidance of a senior settlement officer. He was, thus, enabled to imbibe the art of administration by actually practising it as well as by seeing how it was practised. Almost unconsciously, he imbibed suitable habits and standards. Indeed, the collector was his preceptor. 'A good Collector's house was often a second home to the young assistant collector',[7] in Gorwala's words. These personal contacts helped to stimulate qualities of initiative and administrative leadership as well as responsibility.

This, broadly, remained the pattern of training during the colonial period. The outbreak of the Second World War (1939–45) interrupted the recruitment and training processes of the Indian Civil Service. As it was not possible to send the recruits to England, a training school, under the name of Camp School, was improvised in 1943 at Dehradun, which was already endowed with a measure of infrastructure for training. Now the Indian Defence Academy and the Indian Forest Research Institute are located at Dehradun.

The kind of training devised by the British had very little direct bearing on the job that the new recruits would have to do as members of the Indian Civil Service (ICS). This was a liberal education. They believed in 'on-the-job training' or 'learning by doing or observing'. Although India achieved its independence in 1947, yet the blueprint of the future began to take shape a year earlier. This process was inherent in the style by which this country won its independence—the constitutional means.

Training in independent India

Metcalfe House

In 1946, it was decided to discontinue fresh recruitment to the ICS and the Indian Police and create in their place two new all-India services, namely, Indian Administrative Service (IAS) and Indian Police Service (IPS). The same year, the Federal Public Service Commission had selected 160 war-service candidates for appointment to the newly created IAS. At this time, the Government of India decided to open the IAS Training School, which was established in March 1947, at the Metcalfe House (near the Indraprastha College for women), Delhi. The first regular competitive examination for the IAS was held in July 1947 and selected candidates were sent to the school

in July 1948 to undergo one year's training.

The training syllabus had to incorporate the new political realities as these provided the normative framework within which the civil servants had from now onwards to work. The installation of parliamentary democracy in the country necessarily involved a radical change of attitude in its operative organs, namely, the higher administrative personnel. The IAS probationers were taught Indian Constitution and the role they were meant to play as officers of the all-India service, working under the Constitution. They were taught about the need for the formation of a right mental attitude to questions of personal and private conduct. While the ICS probationers' syllabus included Indian history, Indian criminal law and procedure and language of the province of allotment, a heavier one awaited the IAS probationers. Besides learning the regional language of the state, a probationer was also taught Hindi if he was not fully familiar with it. He studied economics, public administration, administrative history of India, district administration, etc. The syllabus included physical training, horse riding, motor mechanics and weapon training. At the end of a one-year record of training, the probationer had to appear at an examination conducted by or under the supervision of the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC).[8]

Meanwhile, the Government of India was engaged in formulating new schemes for training of higher civil servants. A significant step was the opening of the IAS Staff College at Simla. In 1956, the home ministry formulated a training scheme for officers of the all-India services and higher central services, and invited the state governments to participate in it, so as to help break down service exclusiveness and to increase utility of study and discussion of the subjects covered in the refresher course at the IAS Staff College (Simla) for IAS officers with a standing of six to ten years. In 1958, Govind Ballabh Pant, the home minister, announced the opening of a National Academy of Administration for common training to new recruits of all higher services. He observed:

> We ... feel that we are giving thought to this matter that training in foundational and fundamental subjects should be given to all those who are recruited for senior grades of service. So, instead of our Industrial Administrative School (perhaps reference is to the IAS Training School), we propose to set up a National Academy

> of Training so that the services, wherever they may function, whether in Administrative officers or as Accountants or as Revenue officers, might imbibe the true spirit and discharge their duties in a manner which will raise their efficiency and establish concord between them and the public completely.

Various ministries were then invited to participate in the scheme for setting up an academy for training of officers of various services. Almost all the ministries fell in line with the proposal, and the following services participated in a combined course which began in July 1959 at the IAS Training School, Delhi:

1. Indian Administrative Service,
2. Indian Foreign Service,
3. Indian Audit and Accounts Service,
4. Indian Defence Accounts Service,
5. Indian Postal Service,
6. Indian Income-Tax Service, and
7. Indian Customs and Excise Service.

National Academy of Administration

Immediately after the commencement of the foundational course, the Ministry of Home Affairs decided to amalgamate the two sister institutions—IAS Training School, Delhi, and IAS Staff College, Simla—and to start a National Academy of Administration called the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, at Mussoorie. The academy started functioning at Mussoorie from September 1959.

The first foundation course ended in November 1959. On the basis of the experience gained during this programme, it was suggested to the home ministry that future foundational courses should:

1. begin at the same time for all services,
2. last for five months,
3. include recruits to the IPS also, who could not join the first course.

All these suggestions were accepted by the home ministry. Recruits to the all-India and central services were given a five months' foundational course at the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoorie.

> The idea underlying the (foundational) course is that officers of the higher services should acquire an understanding of the constitutional, economic and social framework within which they have to function, as these largely determine the policies and programmes towards the framing and execution of which they will have

> to make their contribution. They should, further, acquaint themselves with the machinery of government and the broad principles of public administration ... The foundational course is also intended to cover such matters as aims and obligations of the Civil Service, and the ethics of the profession —objectivity, integrity, thoroughness impartiality, etc.[9] The foundation course develops, among the recruits to different services, a feeling of belongingness to common public service and a broadly common outlook.

After completing the foundational course, the probationers of the services, other than IAS, left for their respective training institutions for institutional training, but the IAS probationers stayed at the academy to undergo further institutional training. In 1969, the structure of training was redesigned on the 'sandwich pattern', explained in what follows.

Training for IAS probationers

Minor changes have been effected in the training of IAS officers from time to time and as a few topics have been added to or deleted from the syllabus. But the basic structure has remained unchanged. What follows is a brief discussion of the pattern and contents of training at present in operation.

The institutional training imparted to higher civil servants comprises two broad parts. The first part is known as foundational training and is common to all the non-technical civil services recruited through the common competitive examination held by the UPSC. As the newly recruited personnel come from different academic disciplines they need to be given some common courses of study and instruction so that they possess knowledge of the social, political, economic, cultural and constitutional framework within which they as civil servants are mandated to serve. There is a second argument also commending a foundational programme of training. The selected candidates, now called officer trainees, belong to different services and would be working in different areas of public service. It is, therefore, vital that all of them regardless of which service they come from, must spend some time together under a common roof, which would induce in them a thought that they have a commonality, serving as they do the Republic of India though they are functionally placed in different services. They are horizontally related, being each other's colleagues. The feeling of brotherhood and bonhomie fostered by a common stay will be

an asset to public administration. The duration of the foundational programme is fifteen weeks. The group consists of nearly 350 trainees, which is the annual intake each year at present.

A written examination follows the end of the foundational course. Indeed, each officer takes a written examination at the end of each phase of training at Mussoorie.

Once the foundational course of training is over the trainees disperse, and go to their respective training institutions. Those selected for the Indian Police Service go to the National Police Academy, Hyderabad for their professional training. Each service runs its own training school. The trainees belonging to the IAS stay at the National Academy of Administration to undergo what is known as the professional training. The professional training is a sandwich programme comprising two phases. The first phase, its duration being three months, mostly covers topics of concern to the IAS like law and order, land revenue, etc. The training methodology includes lecture discussions, syndicate work, debates and discussions, etc. At the end of the first phase of training there is a written examination the marks of which are taken into account while determining the final ranking in the service. Then begins the district training under the supervision of a carefully selected district collector in the state to which an officer is allotted. This is on-the-job training, the trainee getting a feel of administration and obtaining an experience of various field-level positions in the district. He is rotated from desk to desk to give him as wide an exposure of administration as possible. The on-the-job district training is a rehearsal, so to say, of what the officer would be actually doing all his life.

Thus equipped, he comes to the academy at Mussoorie for the second and final phase of his training. Its duration is six weeks. The training is mainly problem- and issue-oriented. What is said is that the second phase is woven round the administrative experiences that the officer had gathered in the course of his one-year district training. An examination is held at the end of the six weeks. Thus ends the post-entry training of the Indian Administrative Service. Marks at various examinations held at the academy are counted and the final ranking of the trainee is determined. The officer then bids good-bye to the academy and leaves for the state of his allotment.

The young officer now reports to his state government from which he receives the order of his posting. His placements in the

initial years are in the district and he moves from post to post where he acquires direct experience of both developmental and regulatory work. He is, thus, exposed to a wide variety of administrative situations which would help him later in his career as a middle- and senior-level manager discharging policy-making responsibilities. The Ministry of Personnel in the central government, one must remember, has prepared a career plan for him and the state governments are advised to follow this centrally sponsored pattern. In practice, however, each state operates under multiple environmental factors, which has an inevitable effect of diluting the career plan.

In-service training

The in-service training for civil servants received a definite impetus since the coming into power of Rajiv Gandhi in October 1984. One of his earliest tasks was to restructure the department of personnel in the central government and raise its status. He himself assumed charge of the strengthened Ministry of Personnel, public grievances and pensions but its day-to-day administration is entrusted to a minister of state. The prime minister repeatedly emphasised the need for training of civil servants, and today, it is among the priority activities of the Government of India. In his broadcast to the nation on 5 January 1985, Rajiv Gandhi laid stress on the creation of civil servants of all categories to develop competence and commitment to the basic values of the Indian society. He observed:

> Administrative reform is crucial for social and economic transformation. It is for this reason that I decided to take under my own charge the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms. A full-scale review of administrative organisation, policies and procedures is in progress.
>
> I have asked that the decision-making processes should be decentralised along with enforcement of accountability. Rules and procedures will be drastically simplified to speed up decision-making. Results will take precedence over procedures.
>
> I have directed all concerned agencies to ensure that citizens get prompt and courteous service from government departments and agencies. An effective machinery for redressal of public grievances will be set up in offices and departments with large public dealings.
>
> Action will be taken to raise the morale of public services. We shall prevent extraneous interference in the normal

> functioning of public services. We must create a new administrative culture for service of the masses. Training of civil servants of all categories will be restructured to develop competence and commitment to the basic values of our society.

For the full text see *The Hindustan Times*, 6 January 1985, p. 7.

In August 1985, a decision was taken to make every IAS officer attend a refresher course for one week and this process was to be completed by June 1986. Since November 1985, these one-week courses have been modified to include vertical participation. This means that IAS officers of the junior, middle and senior levels are to attend the same course. At present, an extensive plan of training of IAS officers is in operation. There are one-week refresher courses which every officer has to attend every year with vertical participation. In addition, training programmes for longer duration—four-week programmes—are conducted in three stages—for officers of 6–9 years service, 10–16 years service, and 17–20 years service. The total membership of the IAS, today, stands around 5,000 but the target population from the training angle is 3,750: this is the number falling within the range of 6 to 20 years of service. The four-week programmes and the refresher ones are intended to be mutually exclusive; those who have attended the former are not sent to the latter. In-service training has been made compulsory: it is viewed as part of an officer's career building and those abstaining from training without any valid reason get marked in their annual performance appraisal.

The one-week refresher course is designed, according to the Government of India, 'to provide a kind of sabbatical' to the officers whose seniority (it has been deliberately planned) ranges from the junior level of sub-divisional officers to that of the senior most ranks thus providing for interaction and experience-sharing between those who formulate policy and those who implement it. The curriculum of the refresher course is built around a particular specialism which is considered to be relevant to the country's ecology, energy, forestry, education, rural development, and industrial policy, to name only a few.

The longer duration training programmes for IAS officers are designed for three categories of officers, depending on their length of service. Those with 6 to 9 years of service attend training of 4 weeks'/8 weeks' duration, with focus on programme implementation in the field and the course coverage being environment analysis, project

management, financial management, rural development, urban management, etc. Officers within the service range of 10–16 years attend a programme of 4 weeks'/8 weeks' duration, with focus on modern management concepts and decision-analysis with reference to management in government and in the public sector. A need is of late felt for imparting specialisation to the IAS officers operating at the middle-management level and this is kept in mind while designing the curriculum for them. Finally, the thrust of training for senior-level officers—joint secretaries—in the service-range of 17–20 years is on policy planning and analysis, the duration of training being 4 weeks.

The training institutions are, one can imagine, in great demand to cope with the new hunger for training. According to the Ministry of Personnel's annual report for 1985–86, as many as 25 training institutions have been utilised for conducting 125 one-week refresher courses in one year, prominent among them being the IIPA, New Delhi, National Institute of Rural Development, Hyderabad; Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad, etc.

Mention needs also to be made of the overseas training facilities available to IAS officers, these being administered by the establishment officer, Government of India. India has signed a number of technical assistance agreements with western countries under which fellowship for training and higher education are offered to the civil servants. A fairly large number of IAS officers have thus spent some time in selected western universities. Facilities for overseas training are highly coveted, and generally such IAS officers who command influence are able to get such opportunities.

It is not easy to compute the annual expenditure on in-service training of the IAS officers. A safe estimate would be well over three crore rupees. On the training programmes of one week's duration and four weeks' duration the government spends nearly Rs 90 lakh. The plan expenditure on training is Rs 80 lakh while the non-plan schemes require Rs 20 lakh. The Government of India spends more than Rs 60 lakh on IIPA. These allocations do not cover the expenditure which the IAS officers incur for their board and travel: such expenses are met by the sponsoring organisations and constitute an additional expenditure. Nor, should one forget to include the not too small administrative paraphernalia in the Ministry of Personnel engaged in planning and implementation of training.

The Ministry of Personnel, being the cadre authority of the IAS, has itself chalked out a more or less detailed plan of training of IAS officers and has undertaken its implementation. The responsibility for developing the training plan for other all-India and higher central services has been left to their respective cadre authorities. Thus, the Ministry of Home Affairs, the cadre controlling authority for the Indian Police Service, works out the training programmes for the officers of the latter service, and so on. The various departments have been issued a set of guidelines by the nodal Ministry of Personnel for preparing their detailed plans. (See Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions: *Annual Report 1985–86*, p. 59). Each member of the service should be put through at least three refresher courses in a span of about 20 years of seniority. Training for those who have completed 20 years of service should be organised in the form of seminars and workshops with focus on current issues of planning and national development. Secondly, each refresher course should be closely tailored to the needs of each service. Thirdly, the cadre-controlling authority must ensure appropriate post-training utilisation of trained officers to avoid wastage. To provide incentives to such training, only such officers as have undergone training need be preferred for overseas training and for headquarter's posts. The guidelines also postulate that once facilities are built up to cover the entire service population, every officer must undergo training as a precondition for his promotion to the higher level.

The training responsibilities for non-IAS higher civil servants thus appear to have been decentralised, so to say. This does not imply that the Ministry of Personnel bears no responsibility in this regard. As already said, it has prescribed a set of parameters for action, and what is more, it extends a helping hand also to a department in preparing its training plan. Indeed, 17 cadre-controlling authorities in the central government are reported to have already prepared their training plans with the help of the training divisions in the ministry of personnel. Yet, this kind of decentralised arrangement has its own faults. The ministry of personnel commands resources and manpower on a scale which no other department/ ministry has or can manage to get. A typical ministry at the centre controlling a particular cadre is woefully deficient in both personnel and expertise to address itself to the job and, thus the work remains unperformed or poorly carried out. Indeed, strengthening of

the personnel wing in a department/ministry is a prerequisite to the success of the training scheme, and in the mean time the ministry of personnel should play a more inclusive role.

Critique of In-service training

Training of administrators has, thus, a fairly long history in India but what passed off as 'training' under the British was really education, or to be more correct, liberal education. The British believed in imparting liberal education to the civil servants and this was regarded as an ideal preparation for administrators. The primacy of the theory of 'playground of Eton' was most reverentially accepted and deferentially promoted. Independent India has not, one must note, disaffiliated itself from such a philosophy completely. At the same time, the importance of task-specific knowledge has also been recognised, particularly in the in-service training programmes. And, such programmes have been expanding considerably of late in response to the growing challenges from both regulatory and development administration.

An impressive expansion in in-service training programmes for members of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) has occurred since 1985. Of all the services, the IAS has perhaps, received the highest priority in the sense that a truly comprehensive training plan has been prepared for its officers and what is more, has been under implementation also. As a result, officers of all ranks, including the top rank-holding secretaries to the Government of India and cabinet secretary are required to undergo training, and none is apparently exempted. Indian bureaucracy shows definite signs of becoming training conscious.

Mid-career training programmes for middle-level civil servants began to be organised in India since the mid-sixties. The present author was one of a group of five to have been sent to the United States in 1964 under the 'Training of Trainers' Programme, and on his return, he ventured into in-service training with the support of N.K. Mukarji, a brilliant member of the ICS, who rose to become the cabinet secretary in the Government of India. At that time, he was head of the newly created department of administrative reform in the government of India. In 1967, the training division in the home ministry was established to step up training programmes for the middle-level civil servants. The function of civil service training was transferred to the department of personnel, created in 1970 in pursuance of recommendation of the Administrative

Reforms Commission (ARC). But, yet, the fact is that it is only since 1985 that in-service training of civil servants has been accorded a high level of urgency.

The suddeness with which the training programmes expanded under the Rajiv Gandhi government has brought to notice their own unique problems, both of hardware and software. Though training institutions have existed for some years yet, they have generally not been well equipped either physically or intellectually. The load put on them by the recent spurt in training activities has been discovered to be rather too heavy. Well-qualified personnel are generally not available in requisite numbers and many such institutions are content to operate at a sub-standard level. As already referred to, the Planning Commission in its First Five Year Plan impressed on the government to treat the headship of such an institution as a special post and its occupant chosen with due consideration. This advice seems to have been completely forgotten and the post is treated as one of the so many other posts in the government. To put an IAS officer as the head of a training institute is a rather normal practice in India but it, unfortunately, does not seem to carry any exalted status in the bureaucratic circles. What, therefore, happens is that an officer of no conspicuous distinction gets appointed as the director of a training institute. Competent persons generally find the faculty positions unattractive as service and working conditions in them are not supportive of creativity. No administrative training institution has, therefore, been able to flower as a notable centre of research and study in public administration. The ministry of personnel being of nodal significance must have within it, qualified staff. But the method of filling the various positions is the usual one and no great or special effort is made towards promotion of specialisation and professionalisation of personnel.

The software for conducting training programmes is also not in adequate supply. The training technology is not well diversified and, as a result, adequate use is not made of case studies, exercises, programmed learning, reading material packets, films, etc. Nor, is the motivation of many of the participants very high. Some training institutes are reported to be equipping themselves with the comforts of a five-star hotel; the surprising thing is the high rating which they have received even from some of the senior civil servants.

One should also ponder over another possible dysfunctionality emanating from the accelerated

tempo of training at present. Centralisation of authority is an agonising feature of Indian administration at all levels and in all sectors. As the IAS officers hold nearly all decision-making positions in the government, especially at the state level, their absence from work for periods ranging from more than a week to more than four weeks may have the effect of further slowing down the pace of work in the administration. The citizens' complaint already is that officers are not very often available to them, being away on meetings. The tempo of work, already not very impressive, must not suffer on account of training.

As the government's decision is to make every IAS officer undergo one training course in a span of one year, the ministry of personnel's dominant concern is to fulfil the target somehow and the meeting of this target has in the process taken precedence over every thing else, including the quality of training. In the hurry to achieve statistical victory, the ministry has little time to examine the soundness of training institutions, the worthwhileness of training courses, the qualifications of teaching faculty, the appropriateness of training technology, etc.

A general feeling of the participating civil servants is that training programmes, as have been organised so far, carry low utility. The common criticism is that virtually no one cares to, or dares, see administrative problems from the implementation perspective, thus being considerably removed from the world of realities. Partly at least, the low perception accorded to training imparted in India owes itself to a general feeling of resistance which some of them have developed on account of their special position both in the government and the society.

The present approach to training is to organise it separately for each service, and a beginning has already been made in a big way in the case of the IAS. This entails a fear of breeding compartmentalism and service exclusiveness among its members, which is already a grave enough problem in Indian public administration. Administering cuts across various services, various departments, various levels of administration, this kind of training may distance the IAS from other services and may pose problems for horizontal harmony and coordination.

For some time, in-service training of civil servants is being increasingly viewed as a sure cure for all administrative maladies and in the process administrative reform has come to be equated with it only. A colonial system cannot become a fit instrument at the hands of a development-oriented

parliamentary democracy until it itself is redesigned to suit new goals. What is emphasised here is the need for systemic reform in the administrative machinery and personnel of independent India. Equally necessary is the constructive integration of training with other processes of personnel administration.

[1]Owen, Sidney J.: *A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties and other Papers of the Marquess Wellesley, K.G. During His Government of India*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1877, pp. 722—23.

[2]*Ibid.*, p. 750.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. XXXV.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 33.

[5]The Macaulay Report on the Indian Civil Service is reproduced in *Report of the Committee on the Civil Service* (Lord Fulton), vol. 1, 1966–68, Cmnd 3638, London, HMSO, 1968, p. 127.

[6]Vide *Parliamentary Papers: The Selection and Training of Candidates for the Indian Civil Service, c.*1446, 1876, p. 325.

[7]Gorwala, A.D., *The Role of the Administrator: Past, Present and Future*, Poona, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1957, p. 8.

[8]Bapat, S.B., 'The Training of the Indian Administrative Service', *The Metcalfe House Journal*, vol. I, no. I, March 1956, pp. 39–49.

[9]Report on Indian and State Administrative Services and Problems of District Administration (Chairman: V.T. Krishnamachari), New Delhi, Planning Commission, 1962, p. 14.

Trait Theory

It is a theory of leadership which emphasises the identification of distinguishing traits or characteristics of personality common to successful leaders. A leader must possess at least three traits—higher intelligence, superior communication skills, and better ability to access his subordinates' goals.

Transparency in Government

The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'transparent' as 'frank, open, candid, ingenuous'. Transparency is thus the antonym of secrecy, which is the traditional hallmark of public administration. While secrecy is essential in certain sectors of sovereignty, the general policy should be to place public administration in a glass house and let its functioning be known to the larger society. The government of independent India regulates its communication system with 'we the people of India' along the network of the colonial Official Secrets Act of 1923. What is more, instead of liberalising the Act, after the attainment of independence, it has been made stiffer as a result of an amendment introduced in 1967. In the process, Parliament only further curtailed administrative transparency.

It is high time that the Official Secrets Act is scrapped and replaced by a new Right to

Information Act which should clearly demarcate the fields in which official secrecy would be permissible. But a mere statutory measure is not enough. The right to know must be enshrined in the Constitution itself as a fundamental right. At the same time, while openness in government is an unassailable need, areas like defence, national security, commercial secrecy, citizens' privacy shall have to remain protected. The Government of India should take a leaf out of the reforms in this respect introduced by many countries of the world. Canada has on its statute an Access to Information Act; Malaysia provides an open and transparent government in terms of decision-making; Great Britain promulgates citizens' charters to promote openness in government. India must follow suit. More and more information about the activities of public authorities must be made public and put on the electronic computers with linkage to the internet and other global networks. Governmental information must be disseminated to the public on payment of a prescribed fee. Meanwhile, there should be non-cooperation with the existing secrecy legislation. The Official Secret Act has forfeited its legitimacy and must be replaced by freedom of information.

(Also see under Official Secrets Act, 1923).

Tribal Administration

The tribals constitute 7.76 per cent of India's population, but have not been able to derive any significant benefits from the development process despite the state commitment to the betterment of their lot.

The beginning of official concern may be traced to the early days of British rule and this interest has increased since independence. The British evinced an interest in the tribes through their policy of declaring tribals as being within 'excluded and partially excluded areas'. The Constitution of India is more positive and pledges itself to tribal improvement very emphatically.

Bringing about a change in the tribal areas, as compared to other regions, is both complex and difficult. The process of development itself can pose a threat to the tribal communities. The various socio-economic programmes being undertaken under the Five Year Plan has disrupted their isolation and exclusiveness. They have had the effect of putting side by side two unequal socio-economic systems. On one, the modern sector familiar with administrative and legal process and better organised as a group. On the other, is the tribal communities totally unfamiliar with the new process, accustomed as they are to managing the affairs of their

simple systems in their panchayats with understanding and pragmatism. But these skills are becoming irrelevant. Unless there is a massive governmental intervention the tribals would face further deprivation.

The present administrative system for the tribes cannot be understood except in its historical perspective. Administrative provisions were made in the Government of India Act, 1935, for the 'excluded and partially excluded areas' on the principle that the law made by the provincial legislatures might be unsuitable for tribal districts. So, it was left to the governor to decide whether to apply or not to apply such laws. The revenues for excluded areas were charged to the revenues of the province, and trial regulations, which did not apply to the rest of the province could be made by the governor for tribal areas. The concept of an autonomous district (there being eight such districts under the sixth schedule) with its district council is an administrative mechanism to prevent exploitation by non-tribals or by a numerically dominant tribe living in the same state.

Till September 1985, the central home ministry was the nodal ministry responsible for the formulation and implementation of welfare schemes for the tribals and for maintaining the liaison with the state governments. When this arrangement came to an end, the subjects relating to scheduled tribes were hived off from the home ministry and made the responsibility of a new ministry the Ministry of Welfare, created on 25 September 1985.

This shifting of the subject of scheduled tribes is a dysfunctional move. Activities connected with tribal development is much more important that mere development work and demands a set of prerequisites which only the home ministry is in a position to provide. Tribal welfare entails preservation of their culture, too. In many areas, insurgency and development are interlinked. As implementation rests with the states, the home ministry's removal from the scene may affect even the routine development work. The name of the home ministry carries a certain political weight which no other organ of the government enjoys. The home ministry generally dealt with the chief minister himself and the latter's involvement with matters relating to the scheduled tribes invested the work with political importance. All these advantages may be lost because of the change.

Some note must also be taken of the three other bodies working for the welfare of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes: the Commission for Scheduled Castes

and Scheduled Tribes, and the Parliamentary Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The first functionary is a constitutional authority, appointed under Article 338 of the Constitution. In 1978, the central government set up the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which, like the commissioner, investigates all matters relating to them and suggests remedial measures. Both the commissioner and the commission are engaged in the same set of tasks and there is some overlapping of their functions.

The third body, the Parliamentary Committee on the Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, is a standing one, its principal responsibility being to examine the implementation of the constitutional safeguards for the scheduled castes and tribes. It is a useful forum, but many of its members do not seem to have utilised it to the fullest extent.

In the states, which are the implementing agencies, there are either departments of tribal welfare or departments that deal jointly with the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Whatever the name, the department is of a nodal nature. The functional departments such as education, medical, health, etc., have their own schemes and programmes for tribal communities. Thus, several agencies are involved and this highlights the need for better coordination. Though of critical importance, the state-level administration is generally ill prepared in terms of the challenges inherent in the task. Its response pattern is weak and actions are slow and meandering. The maladies are aggravated as one moves towards the scenes of action—the district level and below.

Advanced areas

The administrative system in India including the personnel practices have grown in response to the needs of the more advanced areas. But the tribal communities are simple and the present administrative structure is much too complex for their requirements. A large number of public functionaries belonging to different departments approach the same individual and it is not uncommon that they may speak with different voices. The simple tribal may be confused in such a situation. The administrative structure in these areas, therefore, must be simple and within the comprehension of the people. The multiplicity of government agencies has also resulted in a diffusion of responsibility. Another important fact is that for a single programme a tribal may have to visit several organisations. A single-line administration, which

assumes the overall responsibility for the development of the area and can take care of all aspects, requires to be worked out for the tribal communities.

In view of the usual apathy towards postings in tribal areas, the official positions have to be placed in a higher grade so that competent personnel are attracted. For instance, the director of tribal welfare in states having large concentrations of tribal population should have the same status as that of a commissioner. Likewise, the secretary in charge of the tribal welfare department should be a senior secretary so that he could have an overview of the working of the departments like agriculture, irrigation and animal husbandry in the tribal areas.

U

Unbundling

A business practice prevalent in the U.S.A., especially before the Supreme Court decree in 1911. Unbundling means the taking of a part of a company, i.e. a bundle of assets. It prevents industrial concentration. Unbundling was a public response to the on-going craze for mergers and acquisitions.

Uncovenanted Service

The lower civil service was known as the uncovenanted service during the time of the East India Company and later under the early days of the Government of India. The uncovenanted service covered the lower-grade positions in the government, such as posts of principal sudder amins, munsifs, deputy collectors, tehsildars, superintendents of salt, customs, opium, etc.

Indians first gained their entry into administration through this service, their heaviest concentration being in the revenue and judicial branches. Their employment was generally confined to subordinate positions, the higher ones being filled by the Europeans. But the Europeans constituted the main strength of this service, and thus proved to be a kind of blessing to the Indians who numbered 1,197 in 1828 and 2,813 in 1849.

The uncovenanted service was originally marked by two features which, however, became faint with the passage of time. While a member of the Covenanted Civil Service was, as a rule, recruited, an uncovenanted servant was appointed to a post for life unless his work entitled him to hold another post. Secondly, since the selection was not on the basis of a competitive examination, an uncovenanted servant enjoyed but limited security of service; appointed by the provincial government, it could also terminate his service. In the years to come the field of employment of uncovenanted services widened because, the administrative philosophy of keeping the Covenanted Civil Service as an elite corps led to the transfer of a large number of civil posts to the uncovenanted service. In 1881, the number of covenanted servants was 873 while the uncovenanted servants numbered no less than 4,082 in posts such as tehsildars, deputy collectors and deputy magistrates.

Understudy

An understudy is an actor who learns the role of another actor so as to be able to act as a replacement if necessary. It means assigning a trainee to assist, observe, analyse and emulate an expert who is actually engaged in a job requiring a high degree of independent judgment. The disadvantages of the system of understudy are mainly two: Effectiveness requires temperamental compatibility between the official and the understudy; and secondly, it is difficult to find an official whom the understudy wishes to emulate in every respect. The practice has been prevalent in India since colonial times. The person so appointed is usually designated as OSD or officer on special duty.

United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)

It is a subnational protest movement championing the cause of autonomy for Assam.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

First set up in 1946 as a temporary body under the name of the U.N. International Children's Emergency Fund, it was made permanent in 1953 to provide assistance to developing countries in the areas of child health and welfare services. It is now known as the U.N. Children's Fund but retains its old acronym UNICEF.

United States Civil Service Reform Act (1978)

The thrust of the Civil Service Reform Act, 1978, is on merit pay, performance evaluation, and the Senior Executive Service. The Act provides for the delegation of the examination process to line agencies although the Reagan administration tried to re-centralise it. The Act provides for the setting up of a Merit System Promotion Board.

United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan

A three-member U.N. commission for India and Pakistan established in 1948 to investigate and mediate the Indo-Pak dispute over the status of Kashmir. It also assists in the implementation of the cease-fire agreement of January 1949.

Unity of Command

The principle, briefly and simply stated, in the words of Henri Fayol, means that 'an employee should receive orders from one superior only.' In the words of Pfiffner and Presthus, 'The concept of unity of command requires that every member of an organisation should report to one, and only one leader.'

Fayol is a great advocate of this principle.

> Should it be violated, authority is undermined, discipline is in jeopardy, order disturbed and stability threatened .... As soon as two superiors wield their authority over the same person or department, uneasiness makes itself felt and should the cause persist, the disorder increases, the malady takes on the appearance of an animal organism troubled by a foreign body, and the following consequences are to be observed: either the dual command ends in disappearance or elimination of one of the superiors and organic well-being is restored, or else the organism continues to wither away. In no case is there adaptation of the social organism to dual command.

The above principle, like many others, is under fire. In the words of Seckler-Hudson,

> ... the old concept of 'one single boss for each person' is seldom found in complex governmental situations. Many interrelationships exist outside the straight line of command which require working with, and reporting to, many persons for purposes of orderly and effective performance ... the administrators in government has many bosses and he can neglect none of them. From one he may receive policy orders; from another, personnel; from a third, budget; from a fourth, supplies and equipments.

Unity of command has been seriously affected by the increasing number and growing influence of staff and auxiliary agencies. The fact that these agencies are manned by experts has added to their growing significance. Ever since the end of the Second World War, numerous boards and commissions, advisory bodies, staff and auxiliary agencies have been set up, each one of which has started communicating directly at various hierarchical levels so much so that the line official has begun to wonder who his boss is, whose advice he should accept and whose orders he should obey. What we are having today, therefore, is not unity or duality but multiplicity of command. The situation, in its worst form, exists at the level of the collector or deputy commissioner of a district in India. There are 26 heads of department in Uttar Pradesh who address the collector, and 23 departments which issue orders to him. In turn, each of these departments is divided into a number of sections,

each of which issues orders to the collector in its own right. Thus, one of the eight sections in the Land Reforms Commissioner's Office in U.P. issued 716 circulars between 1954 and 1956 to the collector. In short, no less than 116 authorities of the state government in the secretariat and outside, apart from departments of the central government, issue orders and references to the collector.

V

Value Analysis

Value Analysis is a powerful management tool to promote cost effectiveness in an organisation. It first began at the General Electric Company (U.S.A.) under L.D. Miles. During the Second World War some critical materials were difficult to obtain and a great many substitutions had to be made. Harry Erlicher, vice-president of purchasing for General Electric, observed that the many of the substitutions not only resulted in lower costs but also in an improvement in the final product. Although these happened coincidentally at first, Erlicher decided to try to make them occur. To this task, he assigned Miles in 1947 and called it value analysis. Since then this technique has gathered considerable momentum and today value analysis is being applied in many other areas. Since 1954 the U.S. navy has applied value analysis to more than 2,300 projects and realised a savings rate of Rs 15 to 20 crores a year.

Definition

Value analysis is a systematic, objective and creative approach to ensure that the essential function of a product, process or administrative procedure is provided at a minimum overall cost. It analyses the functions and the cost in a systematic way with a view to locating hidden costs that can be eliminated without affecting product quality or reliability. In fact, this technique often serves to improve product performance.

Basic steps in value analysis

The value-analysis approach and its method of application are illustrated below. The success of value analysis is to a large extent due to its organised creative approach and the systematic plan of attack followed. It has four phases:

1. the information phase;
2. the creation phase;
3. the evaluation phase; and
4. the implementation phase.

Information phase

Before starting on any job it is important to become completely familiar with the product/process/procedure by factual review. This consists of determining the functions and getting complete information about the development, history, specifications, manufacturing methods and processes,

product cost at each stage, annual consumption, stock-holding pattern, etc. This is a realistic hard-boiled job and every effort should be made to obtain quantitative and lively information from as close to the source as possible by tactful questioning and cross-checking the facts and figures obtained from different sources. It is difficult to work properly without all the facts and when facts are not available one is forced to use personal opinions leading to lost opportunities. Unless one collects more facts than anyone else has so far accumulated, no worthwhile improvement is possible. It is surprising how often a problem solves itself when all the facts are obtained.

Creative phase

Here is where we put to use our creative ability and the creative approach. Once the problem is defined and we have all the facts, we are ready to find a way to solve it. So, try to answer the question: 'What else will do the job' using the technique of 'brainstorming'. The technique consists of describing the function of each part and fixing the relative importance of each function in terms of money value. Eliminate those functions not required for the satisfactory performance of the products and think of alternatives to maintain the essential functions in a more economical way.

Ideas that will perform the function should be recorded regardless of their feasibility. Often, good ideas come from trying to develop others that obviously would not work.

Evaluation phase

The various alternatives generated in the creative phase are critically examined, further information is collected and their relative advantages and disadvantages are compared to arrive at the best solution. Sometimes, it may be necessary to carry out trials before taking a final decision and also to find out the difficulties that may be encountered at the time of implementation.

Implementation phase

The implementation of any change requires the active support and cooperation of all concerned and it is necessary that this is done smoothly. The best method is to prepare a detailed implementation programme and communicate this to all concerned. This should consider all aspects of the change-over like material/equipment availability, raw material position, market demand, operation training, surplus staff, etc. and assign responsibility for the various operations connected with the change-over. After the implementation has been completed

and the new system has stabilised, the benefits actually achieved should be evaluated and compared with the targets originally fixed.

Vanity Tanks

A parody on 'think tanks'. Think tanks have today become part of the policy environment in many countries, and as such the term has become fashionable. In almost every society there are some publicity-hungry individuals such as politicians who pose as 'intellectuals' and can gain free publicity in the media by promoting their private think tanks. These are sometimes called 'vanity tanks' consisting of the politician as its patron or president and a typewriter or a word processor at their residence. It has no research base whatever and is a lengthened shadow of the publicity-hungry, ambitious individual. Such vanity tanks are launched as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and have a high mortality rate.

Stone, Diane, Andrew Denham and Mark Garnett (ed.): *Think Tanks Across Nations*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1998.

Viceroy

The Oxford English Dictionary defines 'viceroy' as 'one who acts as the governor of a country, province, etc. in the name and by the authority of the supreme ruler; a vice-king'. It goes on to elaborate: 'The supreme authority over all British India ... is vested in the viceroy or governor-general-in-council'. The word thus means 'ruler exercising royal authority in a colony'. Viceroy was the title by which the office of governor-general came to be known when the British Crown, took over in 1858, the direct governance of India from the East India Company. It was the single most important overseas appointment in the empire. The viceroy was the head of Indian administration during the British colonial rule in India. The functionary was appointed by the British Crown for a term of five years though he was always the personal selection of the prime minister. During his fixed term of five years he could never take home leave until 1924. He was subject to only two masters—the secretary of state for India and the Crown. Warren Hastings (1772–1785) was the first governor-general at Fort William in Bengal (as was his nomenclature) but he was subject to the control of the East India Company. In 1858, the governance of India passed into the hands of the British Crown and the East India Company went into oblivion for eternity. With the direct assumption of rule over India by the Crown the office of

viceroy emerged. The viceroy wore two hats: he was governor-general and at the same time he was representative of the British Crown with the princely states.

The office of viceroy was a grand one and occupied an extra-ordinary position in the British empire. He appointed the governors of all the provinces except of the presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal. He personified the ceremonial part of the empire. He approved all honours and awarded commissions in the army. For a long time he presided over the executive council. In addition, every year he visited the leading princely states where he was lavishly entertained and no effort was spared to impress him.

Lord Canning or Earl Canning was the first viceroy of India although the title was not strictly official. Lord Curzon (1899–1905) was formally the viceroy of India. Lord Louis Mountbatten was the last one.

See (i) Hugh Tinker: *Viceroy: Curzon to Mountbatten*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, 1997.

(ii) Merk Bence-Jones: *The Viceroy of India.*

Victoria Cross

Instituted by Queen Victoria in 1856, this decoration in the form of a bronze cross is awarded to members of the armed forces in Great Britain and its empire.

Village Roads

Village roads are the feeder roads of the other highways as well as the roads for inter-village movements. They pass through rural areas connecting the villages to one another and to the nearest district roads, state highways, national highways and railway roads.

Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP)

A movement seeking to strengthen and invigorate Hindusm.

Voluntarisation

A consciously planned process of transferring state-run activity to the private sector or to NGOs. The transfer is effected by means of a contract.

Voluntary Retirement

Retirement upon resignation after completing twenty years of service but before attaining the prescribed age of superannuation.

Vote on Account

A vote on account is an advance grant made by the Parliament in respect of the estimated expenditure for part of the financial year, pending the regular passage of the budget. The provision for a vote on account has been made under Article 116 of the Constitution and has facilitated a longer and detailed discussion of the budget in Parliament.

Vote on Credit

The Parliament can grant vote on credit to meet an expenditure whose amount or details cannot be precisely stated on account of the magnitude or indefinite character of the service (for example, war). It is, thus, a sort of a blank cheque given to the executive. The provision for vote on credit has been made in Article 116(b) of the Constitution. Article 116 of the Constitution empowers the Lok Sabha to make an exceptional grant which forms no part of the current service of any financial year.

W

Wagner's Law

According to Wagner's Law, the public sector tends to expand faster than the economy.

Wala-Shahi

The household troops raised and paid by the Mughal Emperor out of his privy purse.

Waste Management

A simple meaning of 'waste' is 'something unwanted' but its precise meaning differs from country to country. Waste is divided into a number of categories and is called by different names. In Japan, waste is divided into domestic waste and industrial waste. Solid waste is garbage, refuse. To tackle the solid waste problem, professional management is being devised. Waste management is necessary to protect human health, natural resources and the environment. Solid waste management, one must note, is not cheap. Some municipalities in the developing countries spend over 30 per cent of their budgets on refuse collection and disposal.

Today, the problem of waste management has acquired worldwide urgency. To institutionalise the concern, an international association has been founded, namely the International Solid Waste Association. Its objective is to promote the adoption of acceptable systems of solid waste management and of public cleaning through technological development and improvement of practices, for the protection of the environment and conservation of materials and energy resources.

Watershed

Watershed refers to an area drained by a river or a stream. It is the drainage area. Watershed management refers to the arresting and reversing of the process of depletion and degradation of natural resources. The concept of watershed management is central to the economic well-being and ecological stability of rural areas. It is a means of area development and is much more than mere soil conservation and water harvesting. It is a holistic programme.

Land and water are limited natural resources but meet our existential needs like food, fuel and fodder. Land in addition provides us minerals and forests. Also, water is put to several uses. When

rain falls, the top soil is loosened and gets washed away, which leads to the loss of fertile soil. It is estimated that India at present loses 5,336 million tons of soil, 18 million cubic metres of water and 10 million tons of plant nutrients every year. Watershed management prevents all such losses and promotes an integrated development to agriculture and rural areas. A conscious beginning in this direction was made in 1986 when the Ministry of Agriculture started the National Watershed Development Programme in Rainfed Areas (NWDPRA). At present the Water-shed Development Programme for Rainfed Agriculture is in operation in about 2,500 watersheds in 357 districts in 25 states.

But rainwater management has been known and practised for much a longer time in India. Tanks are dug to store the run off water from rocky catchments in the valleys in Rajasthan.

Welfare State

A welfare state is that state which is ordained by statute to undertake direct and explicit responsibility for the basic well being of its people.

A modern welfare state had its first stirrings in Germany during the last decades of the nineteenth century when Bismarck (1815–98) introduced for the first time a nationwide system of social insurance. Dramatic changes took place in the aftermath of the First World War. The Russian Revolution of 1917 led to the abolition of private property in that country, institutionalised the ascendancy of the state through central planning and thus made the state control all economic activity. Another landmark was the Great Depression of the 1930s which caused enormous economic hardship in the world and spurred the state to experiment with countercyclical policies to restore economic activity. Yet another event was unleashed by the Second World War leading to the collapse of the colonial rule in the world and emergence of newly developing nations of Asia and Africa. These newly decolonised nations were clamouring for social insurance. This heralded the advent of the activist state for governance. The state took on new roles and expanded existing ones. But not much improvement could be noticed in these countries. Many of them spent more time moving money around the economy in the form of transfers and subsidies than they spent providing traditional public goods.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s sounded the death knell of the ever-expanding state. The scope of the state's intervention in production, prices

and trade was deliberately curbed and encouragement was given to the adoption of market-friendly strategies. This reform phase began in 1991 and the ideology of a welfare state is now in a state of disarray and confusion.

Wellesley, Lord (1798–1805)

Lord Wellesley was India's governor-general during 1798–1805. His great contribution to public administration lay in his establishment of the college at Fort Williams. The college was established in 1802, primarily to impart religious education to the newly appointed civil servants in India. Because the college was opened without the permission of the East India Company it was ordered to be closed down and in its place the East India College at Haileybury was established in 1806. Lord Wellesley also built what is the present-day Raj Bhawan at Calcutta. Hitherto the governor-general had his house at Fort William.

Wet Lease

Leasing out an item along with the facility to activate it. For example, taking on lease aeroplanes along with the crew.

Whistle-blowing

Whistle-blowing refers to the revelation by an employee of illegal, improper or immoral actions committed by his organisation. The employees point out the violations of ethics within an organisation. Whistle-blowing is exposing the existence of organisational maschug or wrongdoing. A whistle-blower is a person who informs on another or makes public disclosure of corruption or wrongdoing. It is permitted in a few countries but not in India although a demand is being made to legalise it. It serves a socially useful purpose. Whistle-blowers bring to public attention gross management errors and abuses in an organisation. The United States Congress enacted a legislation in the 1970s protecting civil servants that bring to public light corruption, mismanagement or misuse of office by a public servant which adversely affects the public interest.

White, L.D.

To Leonard D. White goes the enviable credit of writing the first textbook in public administration in the U.S.A., namely *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, published in 1926. White is a distinguished name in the discipline, pioneered as he did the 'art and science' of public administration. This book, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration* is imbued with White's deeply ingrained philosophical orientation

articulated in the following four attributes:

1. White assumes that there is an 'essential unity in the process of administration'. (There should be an essential unity in the process of administration).
2. The study of administration should start from a base of management rather than the foundation of law. (Emphasis should be placed upon activist leadership rather than restrictive rules).
3. Administration is still primarily an art but attaches importance to the significant tendency to transform it into a science. (While public administration primarily involves human relationships, increasingly our focus should be directed toward a search for uniformity).
4. Administration is the heart of the problem of modern government. (The real issue in government should involve effective design, implementation, and execution of programme, not merely passing new legislation).

White-Collar Class

First developed in the U.S.A., the term, 'white-collar class' refers to non-manual employees as distinguished from manual wageearners or blue-collar workers. The term 'white-collar workers' usually refers to the lower ranks of the modern middle class, generally consisting of clerks, salesmen, technicians but excluding professionals. A white-collar worker meets three criteria—

1. He is an employee;
2. He is engaged in brain-work; and
3. His qualifications are not recognised as professional.

White-Collar Crime

'White-collar crime refers to criminal acts committed by respectable salaried employees in the course of their professional (or, occupational) work.' An example of white-collar crime is the embezzlement of funds by a bank official. But a murder committed by him is not a white-collar crime, though a crime certainly it is! The term became popular since 1949 when Edwin Sutherland, the British criminologist wrote his famous book published that year. It refers to the crimes indulged in by the business community and corporate entities including false advertising, violation of copyright, tax evasion, unfair labour practices, etc.

White-collar crime is rampant in India. What is even more worrying is that it goes virtually unreported, and even when it is exposed, it goes unpunished.

White Paper

A government report which sets out its (government's) policy on a matter which is before parliament, giving all necessary details and information about it. Thus is issued, from time to time white papers in Great Britain and many commonwealth nations including India. Independent India's first white paper was on Indian states issued in 1949.

White-Collar Worker

Non-manual salaried employees working at the lower levels of the occupational hierarchies.

Who's Who

A book containing the names and brief biographies of famous people.

Woodrow Wilson

The United States has a long history of imparting instruction in public administration. The American scholarship in the subject today dominates the world. No less is the leadership role of this country which is equally well recognised all over the world including the developing countries. Books published by U.S. scholars are widely read and quoted both by teachers and senior students in India and other third world countries. According to the American scholars, Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) is unanimously recognised as the father of the discipline of public administration in that country; and the work cited for such an honour is his epochal 26-page essay entitled 'The Study of Administration' which was published in the *Political Science Quarterly* in its June 1887 issue. Woodrow Wilson was the first to have prepared a case for public administration as a generic intellectual course of study.

Woodrow Wilson's article should be studied in the background of the prevalent U.S. administrative scenario. The U.S.A. had passed the Civil Service Reform Act in 1883 (known as the Pendleton Act) putting an end to the prevalent personnel practice, known as the 'spoils system'. Andrew Jackson, the U.S. president, firmly held that government jobs were simple and a citizen of average ability could manage them. He also believed that frequent changes of personnel would promote efficiency in the civil service and keep the employees responsive towards the citizens. The spoils system struck deep roots in the American soil and reached its peak during the civil war period. Assassination of the U.S. president Garfield by a disappointed job-seeker, however, motivated the Congress to enact the Pendleton Act in 1883, paving the way of the personnel system to be based

on merit. The Pendleton Act was part of the larger civil service reform movement underway in the U.S.A. around this time of which Wilson was an important crusader. Wilson's article must be studied and evaluated in this background, being part of his larger campaign for civil service reform.

Public administration merited a deeper independent study, for Woodraw Wilson asserted: 'It is getting to be harder to run a constitution than to frame one'. Running a constitution involves administration. This is why administration is called an eminently practical science, which requires serious study. Administration must, of course, not only include personnel reform (ending the spoils system of recruitment as under the Pendleton Act, already passed by the Congress) but much more: it also includes reform of organisation and methods. Although political science was born more than twenty-two hundred years ago, the questions which were being discussed generally were political such as forms of government, constitution, sovereignty, kingly prerogative, separation of powers, etc. In the process, administration claimed little attention. In other words, political science remained so preoccupied with higher questions like form of government, sovereignty, etc., that it did not give any organised attention to the task of administration. Nor, was a need felt for a separate study of administration. At that time, functions of government were simple and limited in number. But the American society was becoming increasingly complex because of fast industrialisation, urbanisation and immigration, which inevitably demanded more organised attention to the task of carrying out the country's public administration. But this is not easy in countries practising democratic forms of polity. Democracy involves instructing 'a multitudinous monarch', called public opinion, which is a much more complex task. It is harder for democracy to organise administration than for monarchy.

Public administration must be separated from politics. This was a central message of Woodrow Wilson. This is why he is regarded as the architect of politics-administration dichotomy. The field of administration is a field of business. Administration lies outside the proper sphere of politics. Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the tasks for administration it should not be suffered to manipulate its offices. Earlier, Wilson had identified this separateness in his *Congressional Government*. One of the prerequisites of civil service reform lies 'in the

drawing of a sharp line of distinction between those offices which are political and those which are non-political' (pp. 289–91).

Public administration must always remain attuned to popular wishes and expectations. Equally, the sphere of its activities must remain removed from politics. Self government does not consist in having a hand in everything, any more than housekeeping consists necessarily in cooking dinner with one's own hands: the cook must be left with sufficient discretion. Bureaucracy can exist only where the whole service of state is removed from the common political life of the people, its chief as well as its rank and file. Woodrow Wilson visualised 'a civil service cultured and self-sufficient enough to act with the sense and vigour, and yet so intimately connected with the popular thought, by means of elections and constant public counsel, as to find arbitrariness or class spirit quite out of question'.

Wilson was confident about the growing importance of public administration as the society undergoes the process of industrialisation and urbanisation. 'Administration is the most obvious part of government; it is the executive, the operative, the most visible side of government, and is, of course, as old as government itself. It is government in action ...' Public administration is a detailed and systematic execution of public law. Public administration must be strengthened. Not only this, administration is getting studiously and systematically adjusted to carefully tested standards of policy so much so that today what is emerging is 'a science of administration'. The science of administration seeks 'to straighten and purify its organisation and to crown its duties with dutifulness. This is one reason why there is such a science'.

This, among others, calls for comparative studies of foreign governments. He emphasised that while democracy is different from autocracy the essential basis of good administration is the same. 'So far as administrative functions are concerned, all governments have a strong stru-ctured likeness; more than that, if they are to be uniformly useful and efficient, they must have a strong structural likeness'. He claimed, 'Monarchies and Democracies radically different as they are in other respects, have in reality the same business to look to'. He wrote:

> That man is blindly astray who denounces attempts to transplant foreign systems into this country. It is impossible: they simply would not grow here. But why should we not use such parts of foreign contrivances as

> we want, if they be any way serviceable? ... We can borrow the science of administration with safety and profit if only we read all fundamental differences of condition into its essential tenets. We have only to filter it through our constitutions only to put it over a slow fire of criticism and distil away its foreign gases.

He concluded: '... Nowhere else in the whole field of politics ... can we make use of the historical, comparative method more safely than in the province of administration ... We can never learn either our own weaknesses or our own virtues by comparing ourselves with ourselves. We are too used to the appearance and procedures of our own systems to see its true significance ... It is best on the whole to get entirely away from our own atmosphere and to be most careful in examining such systems as those of France or Germany. Seeing our own institutions through such media, we see ourselves as foreigners might see us were they to look at us without pre-conceptions'. Wilson asserted: 'Of ourselves, so long as we know only ourselves, we know nothing'.

A critique of Woodrow Wilson

Woodrow Wilson has been under attack for sometime and even his reputation as the founder of the discipline of public administration has been questioned. The study of public administration as a discipline predates Wilson. This discipline was highly developed in Europe by the 1800s and European literature in the subject was used by American teachers. The academic field of public administration had matured in France between 1812 and 1859. Post-Wilsonian American scholars were familiar with the writings of French, German and English scholars. Wilson himself acknowledges Bluntschli as his source for the idea of the politics-administration dichtomy. What is more, Wilson's article was read by almost no one until the 1930s. In the words of Daniel W. Martin, 'No one including White, Dimock ... identified Wilson as the founder of the study of public administration.'[1]

The second criticism against Wilson relates to the theory of the politics-administration dichotomy that he perpetuated. This was based on his incorrect reading of German sources and, thus, was fundamentally different from the European version. Indeed, Wilson soon realised the error and repudiated the politics-administration dichotomy within three years of publication of the historic article. It was in the 1930s and 1940s that Woodrow Wilson was discovered and accepted as an influential

founder of the discipline of public administration in the United States.

It would, however, be unfair to be overly critical of Wilson. He was a liberal ideologue of U.S. history, being deeply committed to liberal capitalism. Wilson wrote his essay in the American historical context of the 1880s. He wrote at a time which had just discovered the idea of a professional, expert civil service. The Pendleton Act, as said earlier, had become a law in 1883. The Civil Service Act was only a beginning and more was to follow. The United States of that time needed to look abroad for relevant experience. Wilson, therefore, emphasised the desirability of comparative study of public administration. Thus seen, Wilson emerges as a moderniser.

[1]Martin, Daniel W. 'The Fading Legacy of Woodrow Wilson', in *Public Administration Review*, vol. 48, no. 2, March-April, pp. 632–3.

Work to Rule

Apparently a perfectly acceptable even adorable pattern of administrative behaviour, 'work to rule' is a protest, an unethical protest by employees by maliciously slowing down work under the pretext that they are observing each word of the proclaimed rules but the real intention is to hamper work; employees pretend that they are observing rules and regulations in such a legalistic way that they are virtually not doing the work. In such a situation, the management is left with only two options: either succumb to the union pressure and accept its demand or declare a lock-out.

World Bank

No discussion of public administration, at least in the developing countries like India, can be considered to be complete without a mention of the World Bank. The World Bank, or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which is its full name, was established in 1944 but started operating in 1946. It is an international development agency designed to give long-term loans for development projects to member-nations. It is the largest loan-giving agency in the world today.

The World Bank had 45 members in the beginning but its membership has increased over the years and today it stands around 180. India has been its member right since its inception, even though it was not independent, when the original role of the World Bank was to facilitate the reconstruction of battered economies of the European countries following the Second World War. The mission was over by

mid-fifties, and the World Bank was in search of a new role. The newly decolonised countries of Asia and Africa were in need of aid-suppliers and this became the new mission for the World Bank. The agency's focus changed to low-income countries of the world. The World Bank provides finance as well as technical assistance to developing countries.

Over the years the World Bank has spawned new formations. In 1956, it established the International Finance Corporation to provide funds for the development of private enterprise in member nations. In 1960, it created the International Development Agency to offer loans to low-income borrowers. In 1988, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency was formed to foster foreign direct investment in developing countries, mainly by covering risks. The World Bank, thus, performs multiple roles: it is a bank; it is a consultant; it is a broker; it is also an agency of administrative and economic reform. In India, the World Bank has a conspicuous presence, assisting large scale projects in the area of energy, infrastructure, transportation, communications and public utilities. India's new economic policy of liberalisation, inaugurated in 1991, was developed at least in its embryonic form by the World Bank.

The World Bank Group comprises the following institutions:

1. International Bank for Re-construction and Development.
2. International Development Association.
3. International Finance Corporation.

World Trade Organisation

Formed in 1995, the World Trade Organisation is an international association of nation-states, its main task being to resolve trade disputes and thus become an effective arbiter of world trade. The World Trade Organisation's most controversial product is the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, better known by its short form, GATT. Under the new economic dispensation, 'a new East India Company' is feared to have entered India the fear being that GATT would deal a deadly blow to Indian economic (later, even political) interests.

World Watch Institute

The World Watch Institute is an international organisation in the field of environment to monitor the impact on it of economic development and progress towards sustainable development. Financed by foundations and trusts, the institute publishes an annual report entitled *State of the*

World. The institute is based in the United States.

World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF)

It is non-governmental international organisation established in the sixties initially to save endangered species, both plant and animal; today, it has expanded its goal and it looks after all aspects of conservation, Claiming a membership of some five million, it works to prevent the degradation of the natural environment. It operates environmental projects in over 130 countries of the world at present.

Writs

The Constitution of India enumerates the following writs—habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari—as the bulwark of protection of citizens against arbitrary actions of the state. The Supreme Court as well as the high courts are empowered to issue the above writs. The Supreme Court can issue the writs only for the enforcement of the fundamental rights while the high courts can issue them for the enforcement of ordinary legal rights too.

Y

Yellow Journalism

Sensational, especially offensive newspaper. A cheaply sensational newspaper or other publication. (So called from the yellow ink in printing).

Yellow Dog Contract

A contract with an employer in which an employee agrees not to join a labour union.

Z

Zamindar

Literally, a landowner. Hereditary tax-collector and landholder under the British.

Zamindari

An estate belonging to or under the jurisdiction of a zamindar. Zamindari refers to the system of land tenure introduced by the British rule (Lord Cornwallis) in India. The Mughal rulers adopted the practice of leasing the land to farmers but the British under permanent settlement transferred rights over land to locally influential families granting them feudal privileges over tenants. These landlord, called zamindars collected revenue on behalf of the British government and exercised nearly absolute rights as long as dues were paid.

Zazia

It is an Islamic direct tax and is in the nature of a poll tax. Also called head tax or capitation tax, zazia is imposed on an individual regardless of income, wealth or any other criterion. The amount of zazia is fixed. It was levied by Muslim rulers on non-Muslims in India.

Zero-Based Budgeting

Zero-based budgeting (ZBB) is a more recent approach to budgetary decision-making. In this approach, on the starting assumption of zero-sum allocation to a programme a decision is taken, after a review, whether it should be retained in full or in part or even expanded and then allot it increased funds. In the words of David Rosenbloom the concept of, zero-base, is that existing programmes and activities should not be automatically funded, but rather should have to justify their continuation as part of the yearly budget cycle. In theory, each programme and activity is vulnerable to zero-funding in each new fiscal year.[1] The father of the concept of zero-based budgeting is Peter A. Pyhrr of Alpha Wire Corporation who developed this technique to emphasise managerial decision-making in an organisation. The zero-based approach to budgeting entails the following four basic steps which must be addressed by each organisation:

1. Identify 'decision-units'.
2. Analyse each decision unit in a 'decision package'.
3. Evaluate and rank all

decision packages to develop the appropriation request.
4. Prepare the detailed operating budgets reflecting those decision packages approved in the budget appropriation.

Zero-based budgeting was first developed in the private sector, namely Texas Instruments Inc. in 1969. It was later adopted for government by Jimmy Carter in 1973, when he was governor of Georgia. It was introduced in the federal government when Jimmy Carter became the president of the United States. It has since been adopted in many states and local governments in the U.S.A.

The traditional method of budget-making is incremental. The last year's budget figures are made the base and onto this are added a figure of about ten per cent or so to account for inflation and then the budget is passed by the legislature. Zero-based budgeting does not follow the traditional course. Instead, it is a powerful review and evaluation technique. All agencies and all services must address themselves to two basic questions; these are the focus of the zero-based budgeting process:

1. Are the current activities efficient and effective?
2. Should current activities be eliminated or reduced to fund higher priority to new programmes or to reduce the current budget?

In other words, zero-based approach to budgeting puts every programme, every service undertaken by an agency under close scrutiny every year. The concerned agency has to justify why the programme should be retained. If it has outlived its utility it should be allotted zero sum. Hypothetically, the finance ministry starts with zero sum, and the onus for its retention and continuance rests with the spending agency. Peter A. Pyhrr is of the view that the best application of zero-based budgeting is service and support areas of company activity, rather than in manufacturing operations proper.

Zero-based budgeting demands for its success availability and use of detailed information on several matters concerning the organisation. As the unit of zero-based budgeting is an activity, it is broken into a number of decision-packages. A decision-package is a detailed, comprehensive description about the specific activity to permit its evaluation. The description comprises the following items:

1. The specific objective of the activity.
2. The way in which the goals are to be achieved.
3. The benefits expected from the activity.
4. Alternative ways of obtaining the same results.

5. The consequences of not approving the package.
6. A detailed budgetary request in rupees giving details regarding salary, wages, office expenses, travel, etc.

The concept of zero-based budgeting, one may recall, spells out that present programmes and activities should not automatically be financed and their continuance should instead require justification. In theory, each programme and activity is liable to be allotted zero funding in each new fiscal year.

The zero-based budgeting contains three main elements.

1. *Identification of decision units:* These are the lowest-level organisational or programmatic units for which budgets are prepared. Each unit must have a responsible manager.
2. *The formulation of budget packages:* These are derived from a comprehensive yearly review of each decision-unit's purposes and functions. Questions considered here are: What would happen if the unit is not funded at all? Fifty per cent funding? Seventy-five per cent funding and so on? How can its operations be improved with better cost-benefit ratio? Once the review is complete, the decision-unit's operations are divided into decision-packages according to the perceived importance of its activities. Each package would include operations, costs and benefits. It is then presented to the budgetary decision-maker.
3. *The ranking of decision packages by top-level managers:* This establishes organisational priorities and seeks to coordinate the agency's choice of level of activity with the amount of funding promised.

The advantage of ZBB is that it gives the decision-maker a clear choice among different funding levels for different programmes and activities. It is a powerful review and evaluational device. Its limitation lies in the fact that it involves a level of analysis which becomes too complex and cumbersome to be practically useful. Also, assessment of costs of programmes and activities may not always be simple or possible.

PPBS and ZBB are examples of management approaches to budgeting. To an extent, these approaches improve the budgetary process by generating more and more information. But the budget, in the ultimate analysis, is politics and is a political process and rendering political choices is inherent in the budgetary process. To attempt to make the budget

100 per cent managerial is neither possible or politically desirable.

A powerful review and control technique, zero-based budgeting rejects incremental method of budgeting. In every budget cycle, a programme or activity is subjected to a thorough review and justification before resources for it can be allocated. A failure to justify a given programme may result in allocation of zero-sum, which means a termination of the programme altogether.

Zero-based budgeting and India

Since the mid-eighties, India has been experiencing a severe financial crunch and the Seventh Five Year Plan was finalised in the context of severe resource constraints. This made the country think about zero-based budgeting. In 1986, India adopted zero-based budgeting as a technique for determining expenditure budget. While announcing the adoption of the zero-based budgeting approach in the government, India reiterated its broad objective and details. It affirmed that zero-based budgeting requires identification and sharpening of objectives, examination of various alternative ways of achieving those objectives, selecting the best alternative through cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness analysis; prioritisation of objectives and programmes; switching of resources from programmes with lower priority to those with higher priority; and identification and elimination of programmes which have outlived their utility. A spending department is required to justify not only the new proposals and the required funds but equally the ongoing activities and the funds for them. Under the ZBB approach, the existing programmes are not treated as immutable but are examined afresh as to their continued utility and effectiveness thereby freeing resources for new programmes. ZBB, thus, helps both in the judicious allocation of scarce resources and in deriving the optimum benefits out of the resources thus allocated. The true objective of ZBB is not to just cut expenditure but to make public expenditure programmes more effective by a more purposive allocation of resources to various programmes. The Government of India laid down the following essential steps for the observance of the spending departments in order to make a success of ZBB.

1. Establishment of precise objectives for each function and programme or project;
2. Identification and analysis of decision-units;
3. Formulation of decision-packages; and
4. Ranking of decision packages.

India has adopted since 1986,

the zero-based budgeting technique of budget-making but the spirit underlying it is sadly missing. The amount of information needed for decision-making has not been made available. Though everyone fully knows about the proliferation of programmes and redundancy of staff in the government, not a single programme has been axed. The civil service population is increasing despite the reduction suggested by the Fifth Pay Commission. ZBB makes no allowance for politics in decision-making but in India its intrusion is deep and pervasive. As a result, ZBB is but a ritual. This technique may succeed where a higher degree of cost consciousness prevails and a general concern for taxpayers' hard-earned money is manifest. The prevalent Indian psyche is: taxpayers' money is no one's money and the contemporary culture is permissive of misuse of money in the country.

[1]Rosenbloom, David: *Public Administration: Understanding Management, Politics and Law in the Public Sector*, New York, McGraw Hill, Third Edition, 1993.

Zero-Cost Activity

The term is employed in project evaluation and review technique. It refers to an activity whose operating cost is not charged to the project of which it is a part.

Zero Defects

It is a system of rewarding workers who make no mistakes and waste no materials over a given span of time. A concept in quality management.

Zero Population Growth

Refers to the situation where the crude birth rate in a country is equal to the birth rate, thus registering no growth in population. Countries like Germany, France and Denmark are examples of zero population growth.

Zero-Tax Company

Income tax laws provide for a host of deductions and incentives to promote certain explicit objectives of state policy. It is, therefore, thinkable that some profit-making companies may so devise their affairs that with all deductions allowed their tax liability becomes 'zero'! Countries seek to avoid such a situation by introducing minimum alternative tax, which has to be paid to the state.

Zip-Code

Used in the postal system in the U.S.A. to speed up postal delivery. Each delivery area has a five-digit number which is written at the end of an address on the envelope. The first 3 digits

indicate the district and the last two the local zone. Zip-code is known as pin-code in India, pin standing for postal indication number.

Zonal Councils

Provisions for zonal councils has been made in the States Reorganisation Act, 1956. As a result, five zonal councils have been set up by the president for each of the five zones, i.e. northern zone, central zone, eastern zone, western zone and southern zone.

Zone of Indifference

Authority by consent. A situation in organisations in which employees do not conciously judge or question the merit of an order but simply comply with it and carry it out. First used by Chester Barnard, it was called 'zone of acceptance' by Herbert Simon. Chester Barnard attributed organisational leadership's success to the subordinates' acceptance of his command or authority. Zone of indifference is authority by consent. This is the acceptance theory of leadership.

Zoning

Used in city planning, zoning is dividing a neighbourhood, city, town, etc., into areas subject to special restrictions or distinguished for some purpose or use.

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A Dictionary of Public Administration is the first work of its kind in India as well as perhaps in the Third World. It covers the terms, concepts, theories and paradigms of public administration. Each term is defined and explained concisely but clearly. While a large number of entries are discussed in a few lines, many of them are very comprehensively treated, which is usually characteristic of an encyclopedia.

The dictionary deals with the theory of public administration in all its sub-fields like administrative theory, personnel administration, financial administration, comparative public administration, administrative law and public policy. It goes beyond and includes the institutions and processes of Indian administration as well. All these features make this an indispensable volume for students and teachers of public administration as well as policy planners and analysts.

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